June 17, 2002 49145 $3.95 U.S., $4.95 Canadian

A NEW WFB NOVEL

BORJAS: Who Needs Foreign Students?

NATIONAL REVIEW

Color Me Pointless

THE BUREAUCRATIC LIMBO OF TOM RIDGE

JOHN J. MILLER

PLUS:

RAMESH PONNURU on Frank Meyer's Visi

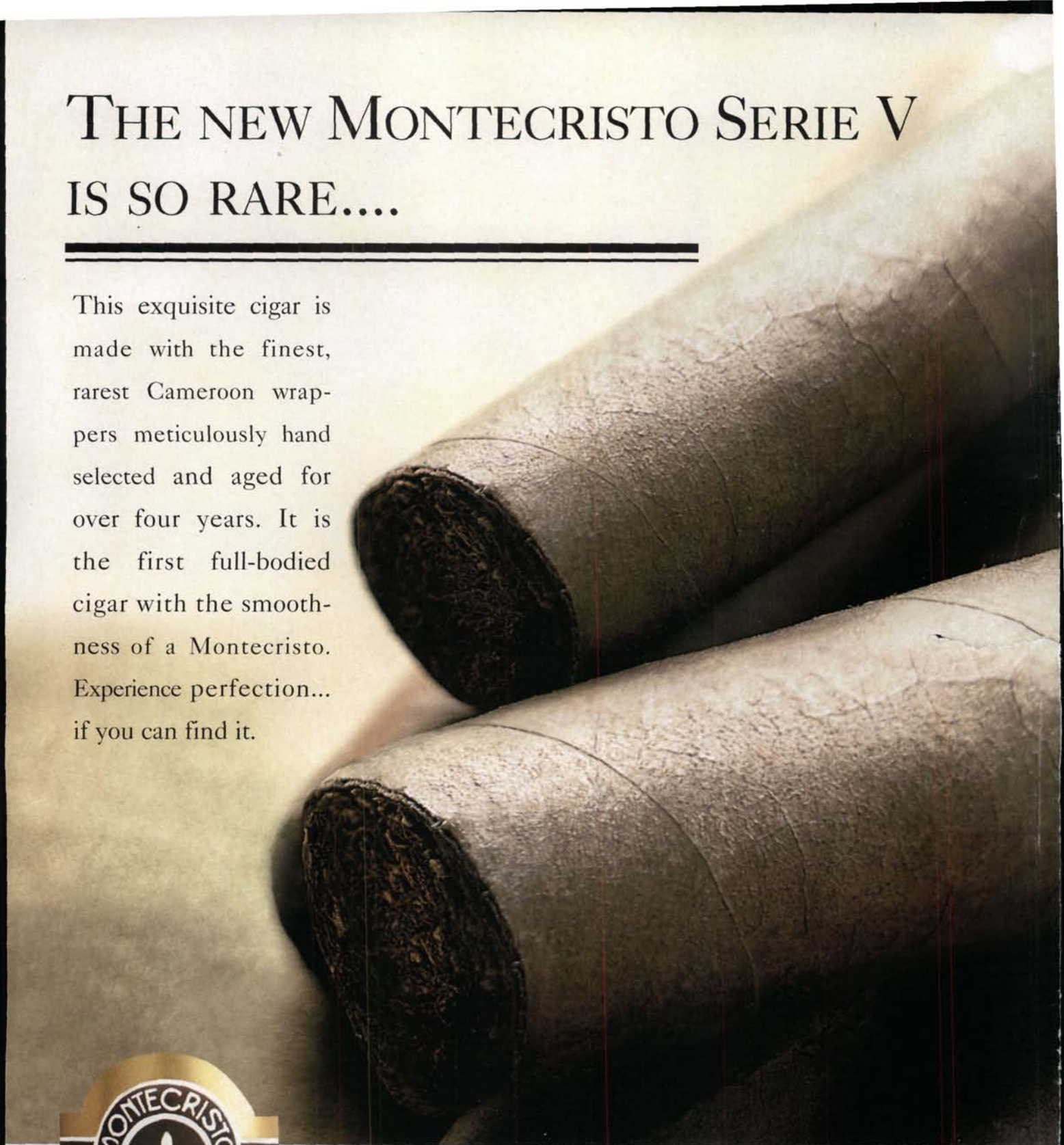
JONAH GOLDBERG on Ozzy Osbourne's Br

#BXNCMYG ********AUTO** 5-DIGIT 94301
#94301UZZ555BY003# 0403
88 NTRV 611 P0084
RON UNZ
555 BRYANT ST # 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

www.nationalreview.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW MONTECRISTO SERIE V IS SO RARE....

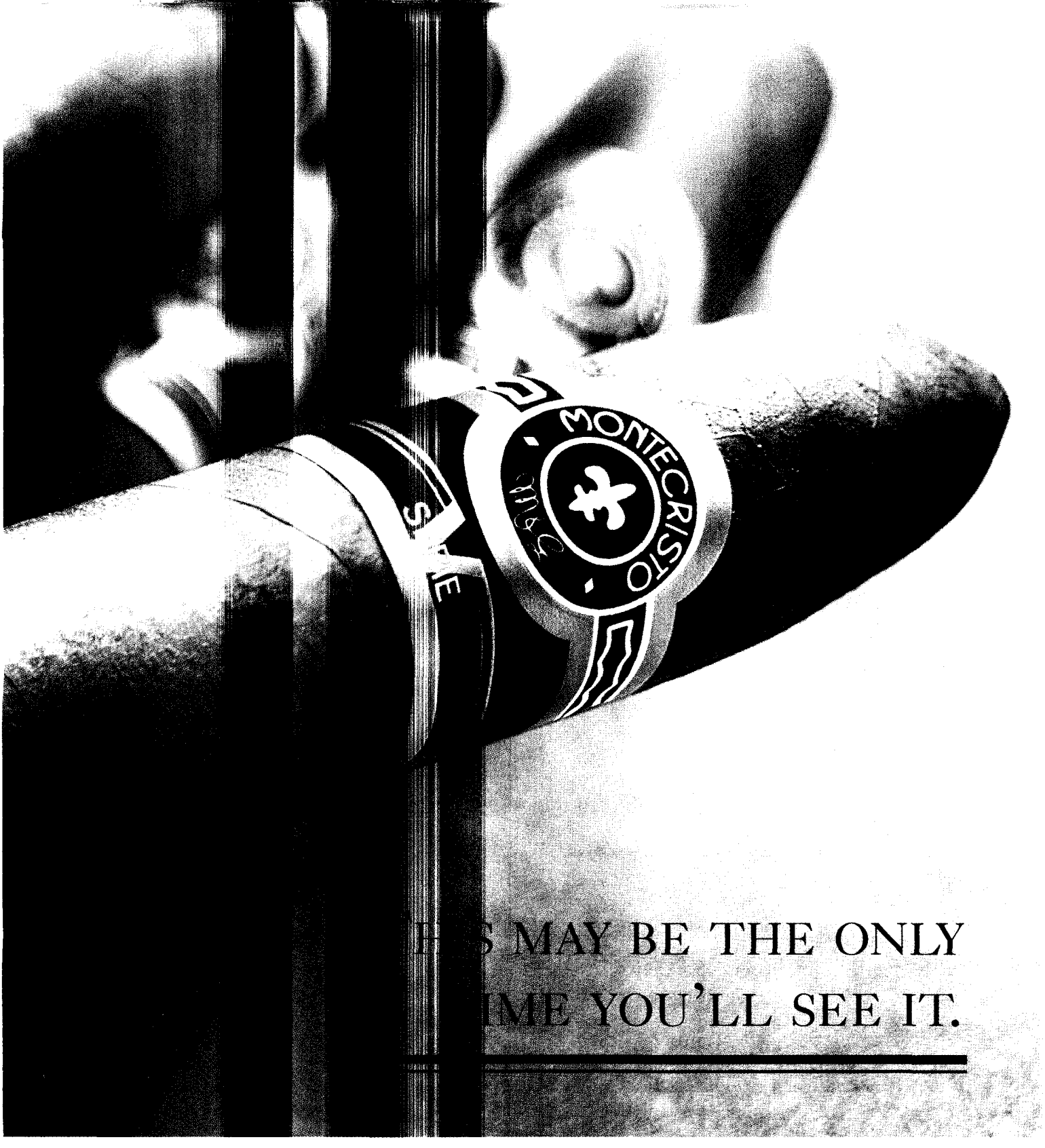


This exquisite cigar is made with the finest, rarest Cameroon wrappers meticulously hand selected and aged for over four years. It is the first full-bodied cigar with the smoothness of a Montecristo. Experience perfection... if you can find it.

MONTECRISTO
M&G
SERIE V

FOR THE MONTECRISTO SERIE V TOBACCONIST NEAREST YOU, VISIT OUR WEBSITE: WWW.SERIEV.COM. OR CALL 1-888-262-2511.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



SURGEON GENERAL WARNING:Tobacco Smoke Increases The Risk Of Lung Cancer And Heart Disease, Even in Nonsmokers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

JUNE 17, 2002 VOL. LIV, NO. 11

ARTICLES

18 The Man Who Won't Veto *by Byron York*
One power that George W. Bush eschews.

20 Encountering Turbulence *by Kate O'Beirne*
So how goes the federal takeover of airline security?

22 The Over-Skeptics *by John O'Sullivan*
With the Europeans, a little patience, a little craft.

26 Their Men in Riyadh *by Rod Dreher*
Ex–U.S. ambassadors who stick with the Saudis.

29 Into Africa . . . *by Richard Lowry*
. . . and out of OPEC—new thinking on oil.

30 Ozzy Without Harriet *by Jonah Goldberg*
What *The Osbournes* tells us about drugs.

32 A New Wrinkle *by Rob Long*
The mad craze for Botox.

34 The Impossible Position of Tom Ridge
by John J. Miller
Director of homeland security—or something.

36 The Muslim Next Door *by Roger Scruton*
Can we live with him? Can he live with us?

38 Rethinking Foreign Students *by George J. Borjas*
A question of the national interest.

41 Interviewing a Nuremberg Killer
by William F. Buckley Jr.
An excerpt from the new novel *Nuremberg: The Reckoning.*

Cover art by Roman Genn

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Genocide on Trial—*Michael Knox Beran,* **page 48**
Nuremberg: The Reckoning, *by William F. Buckley Jr.*

The Lady's Testament—*George Jonas,* **page 53**
Statecraft: Strategies for a Changing World, *by Margaret Thatcher*

The Fusionist—*Ramesh Ponnuru,* **page 54**
Principles and Heresies: Frank S. Meyer and the Shaping of the American Conservative Movement, *by Kevin J. Smant*

A Distant Mirror—*Stephen Schwartz,* **page 57**
The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain, *by María Rosa Menocal*

Theater of Blood—*David Pryce-Jones,* **page 59**
The Road to Verdun: World War I's Most Momentous Battle and the Folly of Nationalism, *by Ian Ousby*

SECTIONS

2 Letters
4 For the Record
8 The Week
45 The Long View
46 Help!
53 Poetry
60 Books in Brief
62 On the Right
64 The Misanthrope's Corner

WORLD WIDE WEB
www.nationalreview.com

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by NATIONAL REVIEW, Inc., at 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices.

©National Review, Inc., 2002.

Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc., to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc., to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668; phone, 815-734-1232, Monday–Friday, 7:30 A.M. to 10:30 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P. O. Box 668, Mount Morris, Ill. 61054-0668. Printed in the U.S.A.

RATES: $59.00 a year (25 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts or artwork unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

©2002, Fannie Mae. All rights reserved. The house logo is a registered mark of Fannie Mae.

There are many things to celebrate in America. With the help of Fannie Mae, our housing finance system is one of them.

When it comes to housing finance, we've created something special here in America. Because only in America can a home buyer easily secure a 30-year, fixed-rate mortgage with a low down payment.

Without Fannie Mae, this wouldn't have been possible over the years. Our main focus has always been to make mortgages more affordable.

In many other countries home buyers don't have access to long-term, fixed-rate mortgages.

And in the United States, families can become home buyers with as little as three percent down. In Germany, a typical down payment is 30 to 40 percent. In Japan? It's 50 to 60 percent.

At Fannie Mae, we believe the American Dream should be an attainable dream. So we're working to make housing affordable for more and more Americans. And that's something worth celebrating.

FannieMae
www.fanniemae.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

June 17 issue; printed May 30

EDITOR
Richard Lowry

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Jeffrey Hart
Ramesh Ponnuru / David Pryce-Jones
Managing Editor Jay Nordlinger
Washington Editor Kate O'Beirne
Literary Editor Michael Potemra
Executive Editor Dorothy McCartney
National Political Reporter John J. Miller
White House Correspondent Byron York
Art Director Luba Kolomytseva
Production Editor Christopher McEvoy
Associate Editors
Emmy Chang / Julie Crane
Kathryn Jean Lopez / Sarah Maserati
Research Director John J. Virtes
Executive Secretary Frances Bronson
Assistant to Mr. Buckley Tony Savage
Assistant to the Editor Elizabeth A. Fitton
Editorial Associates
Aaron P. Bailey / Patricia B. Bozell
Melissa A. Seckora / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Assistant
George Vara
Contributing Editors
Robert H. Bork / Linda Bridges
John Derbyshire / W. H. von Dreele
Rod Dreher / Roman Genn
Jonah Goldberg / John Hillen
Florence King / Lawrence Kudlow
Mark R. Levin / Rob Long
Stephen Moore / John Simon

PRESIDENT
Thomas L. Rhodes
EDITORS-AT-LARGE
Wm. F. Buckley Jr. / John O'Sullivan

Contributors
Hadley Arkes / Baloo
Tom Bethell / James Bowman
David Brudnoy / Priscilla L. Buckley
Eliot A. Cohen / Brian Crozier
Dinesh D'Souza / M. Stanton Evans
Chester E. Finn Jr. / Neal B. Freeman
James Gardner / David Gelernter
George Gilder / Charles R. Kesler
John Kiley / James Jackson Kilpatrick
David Klinghoffer / Anthony Lejeune
D. Keith Mano / Richard John Neuhaus
Michael Novak / Alan Reynolds
Paul Craig Roberts / William A. Rusher
Tracy Lee Simmons / Terry Teachout
Taki Theodoracopulos / Ralph de Toledano
Vin Weber / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associate Publisher Jack Fowler Sr.
Assistant to the Publisher Kevin Longstreet
Assistant to the President Barbara Nowack
Chief Financial Officer James X. Kilbridge
Accounting Manager Galina Veygman
Treasurer Rose Flynn DeMaio
Business Services
Alex Batey / Victoria Manca
Irina Dynkevich
Circulation Director Theresa Maloney
Circulation Manager Jason Ng

WORLD WIDE WEB http://www.nationalreview.com
MAIN NUMBER 212-679-7330
SUBSCRIPTION INQUIRIES 815-734-1232
WASHINGTON OFFICE 202-543-9226
ADVERTISING SALES 212-679-7330
Executive Publisher Scott F. Budd
Advertising Manager Elizabeth Capano
Account Executive Aaron Cohen
Detroit Rep. Joseph J. Colucci 248-626-9918

PUBLISHER
Edward A. Capano

■ LETTERS ■

JONAH'S GENESIS

No one read Rich Lowry's interview with William F. Buckley Jr. (NR, May 6) with greater interest than I.

Harry Elmlark, a consummate salesman, was the owner of a small syndicate, and in 1962 he landed the Buckley column with a guarantee, I now learn, of $75 per week against sales. At that time I was editor of North American Newspaper Alliance. One of our columnists was Ralph McGill, the renowned liberal editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*. We were paying him $200 per week, an excellent fee at the time. In March 1962 this "southern gentleman" told us he had sent in his last column, switching without notice to another syndicate. So, having $200 in our weekly budget to spend, I sent a letter to Mr. Buckley offering him that to replace McGill.

I was surprised that I didn't get a response or perhaps a counter-offer. When I asked Mr. Buckley about this at a gathering a few years ago, he said that he was in Switzerland at the time and that Harry Elmlark was very persuasive.

When I learned of the Elmlark deal, in which I thought we were outbid, I was bitter and consumed with an Elmer Fuddian rage for revenge! I waited until I thought the time was ripe and then sired a baby who grew up to become Jonah Goldberg, today a contributing editor to NR and National Review Online's webmeister and columnist. To this day I feel that if Mr. Buckley had signed with NANA, I could have spared myself the expense of Jonah—schooling, clothes, Christmas gifts, Hanukkah gelt. And we could have made WFB famous!

Sid Goldberg
New York, N.Y.

G'UNCONTROL

A reaction to WFB's "Exit Gun Control" column (May 20): I am a former gun owner, and have lost a friend or two over the years by attempting to persuade them of the common sense of gun control as opposed to, well, gun uncontrol, which is what we have now.

The German government recently acted to increase its gun control after the massacre in Erfurt. Yet we experience slaughter after slaughter, which leads only to debates and more debates.

I'm in favor of a well-regulated militia and of the right of the people to keep and bear arms. But isn't it possible to have these rights without sacrificing the lives of thousands of Americans?

Owen McNamara
Herkimer, N.Y.

CARTER'S GOOD DEEDS

Jay Nordlinger's article on Jimmy Carter ("There He Goes Again," May 20) omitted a few key facts: Jimmy Carter and his Carter Center have nearly eliminated Guinea worm disease, distributed 35 million doses of Mectizan® for river blindness, helped many farmers double or triple annual harvests, sought reconciliation among numerous warring parties, and obtained the safe return of 300 abducted children. He has worked tirelessly in behalf of the poorest, sickest, and most forgotten people in the world.

Alan M. Cody
Waban, Mass.

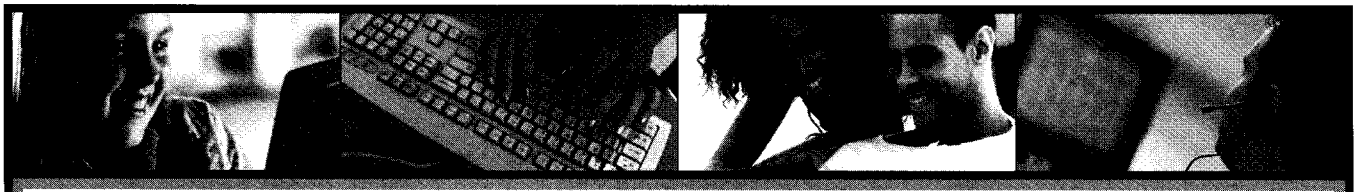
A MODEST PROPOSAL

Solving the conflict-of-interest problem epitomized by Arthur Andersen's fiduciary relationship with Enron ("Enron's Bastard Children," by Ramesh Ponnuru, May 6) requires removing the incentive for auditors to "go easy" on clients, something easily accomplished by balance-sheet-fraud insurance. Insurance companies would become responsible for hiring auditors, giving rise to a new level of transparency among policyholders. And a company stuck paying high premiums or deciding against coverage in the first place would immediately raise red flags for investors.

Michael B. Barkey, President
Ctr. for the Study of Compassionate Conservatism
Grand Rapids, Mich.

NATIONAL REVIEW encourages letters to the editor. Letters should be submitted by e-mail to letters@nationalreview.com or by fax to (212) 849-2835 or by mail to Letters Editor, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016. Please include your full name, address, and daytime phone number. Letters will be edited for space and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



REALIZING BUSINESS POTENTIAL

The question on many minds these days is: How can the U.S. economy regain its late-1990s vigor?

Economists say the most important driver of long-term economic growth is productivity—the output workers produce per hour. Increasing productivity enables companies to pay higher wages without raising prices, thus improving our standard of living.

The importance of technological innovation in sustaining productivity growth is widely recognized today. But during the 1970s and 1980s, stubbornly sluggish business productivity led some economists to question the value of many companies' extensive investments in information systems.

"We see the computer age everywhere but in the productivity statistics," commented Nobel laureate Robert Solow of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1987.

But the benefits became clear as fast-growing technology industries—many of them using state-of-the-art technology to boost their own output—became increasingly significant contributors to the overall economy. Beginning in 1995, U.S. productivity accelerated to rates of growth not seen in two decades, and an economic boom followed. Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan credited technology with enabling the nation to achieve faster growth than previously thought possible without sparking inflation.

And as the economy slowed last year, technology helped businesses to adjust quickly. As a result, growth in productivity remained strong, building the basis for a recovery.

"The fact that firms were able to respond quickly to signs of a slowdown may be due to better information systems," said economist Hal R. Varian of the University of California, Berkeley.

Further confirmation of the link between high tech and high productivity has come from studies of hundreds of large firms by MIT economist Erik Brynjolfsson, who concluded that information technology increases output more than any other type of capital investment. Brynjolfsson found that gains from information technology grow over time as workers use it to improve how they do business.

History teaches us that new business processes made possible by technology can eventually multiply technology's direct benefits many times over. For instance, electric motors were used to automate manufacturing plants beginning in the late 1800s. But the most significant productivity gains came later, when business innovations that relied on electricity, such as Henry Ford's assembly line, made fuller use of the technology.

Productivity may grow even faster this decade than in the late 1990s.

Indeed, applying technology to create and advance new business processes may be one of the most rewarding investments organizations can make today. Recently Chairman Greenspan suggested that U.S. productivity may grow even faster this decade than in the late 1990s as business processes are re-engineered to realize the full benefits of technology investments.

Just as Henry Ford found ways to revolutionize manufacturing, the challenge today is to make the best use of information to make businesses even more agile, efficient and productive.

As workers who deal principally in information become a larger part of the work force, we need a deeper understanding of the impact of technology in the workplace. Productivity measurements used today may not fully reflect the benefits of new capabilities such as telecommuting, e-mail and supply-chain integration.

New tools are needed to help us evaluate qualitative as well as quantitative results of information work in order to optimize business processes, improve financial results and guide innovation for organizations of all sizes.

Microsoft is collaborating with other industry leaders and with top economists to better understand information worker productivity. Our goal: to help people and businesses realize their fullest potential.

One in a series of essays on technology and society. More information is available at microsoft.com/issues.

Microsoft®

© 2002 Microsoft Corporation

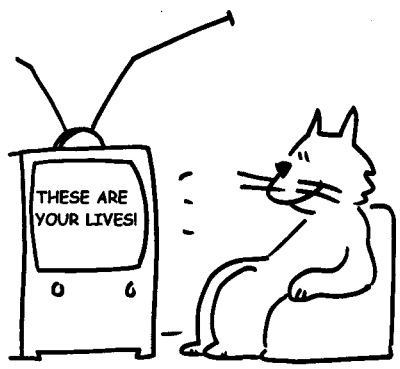
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ FOR THE RECORD ■

■ President **Bush**'s favorable rating, in Fox News poll: 77 percent. . . . Vice President **Cheney** on more terrorist strikes in U.S., on *Meet the Press*: "Not a matter of if, but when." . . . Bush, in Berlin: "Wishful thinking might bring comfort, but not security. Call this a strategic challenge; call it, as I do, an axis of evil; call it by any name you choose—but let us speak the truth. If we ignore this threat, we invite certain blackmail, and place millions of our citizens in grave danger." . . . Bush, in Miami: "Nearly a half century ago, Cuba's independence and the hopes for democracy were hijacked by a brutal dictator who cares everything for his own power and *nada* for the Cuban people. . . . For 43 years, every election in Cuba has been a fraud and a sham. Mr. **Castro**, once, just once, show that you're unafraid of a real election. Show the world you respect Cuba's citizens enough to listen to their voices and to count their votes. Start to release your chokehold on the working people, and on enterprise. Then—and only then—will we talk about easing sanctions, and not before. . . . *Viva Cuba libre!*" . . . In CBS News poll, 46 percent would preserve Cuba embargo and 44 percent would end it. . . . Bush on Russian president **Vladimir Putin**, to students at St. Petersburg State University: "You've got a leader who understands that freedom is going to enhance the future of this country." . . . In New Democrat Network poll of Hispanic voters, **Al Gore** leads Bush in 2004 contest by only 2 points, 46 percent to 44 percent.

■ Senate majority leader **Tom Daschle** on Bush, on *Charlie Rose*: "I think that people underestimate George Bush. . . . I think this president understands exactly what he wants to do." . . . Sen. **Joe Lieberman** (D., Conn.) favors delaying tax cuts: "Read my lips: Keeping current tax rates is not a tax increase." . . . Vermont governor **Howard Dean** (D.), in *Des Moines Register*: "We are the party of fiscal responsibility." . . . GOP consultant **Craig Shirley** on criticism of Republicans' using 9/11 Bush photos for fundraising, in *U.S. News & World Report*: "Who is [DNC chairman] **Terry McAuliffe** kidding? If Bill Clinton were president on Sept. 11, he'd be selling the vials of tears Clinton shed that day." . . . RNC chairman **Marc Racicot** says party will hold 2004 national convention the week of August 30.

■ NRCC chair **Tom Davis** on House races: "I think we are as likely to pick up seats as we are to lose any seats." . . . In Pew poll, GOP congressional leaders have 49 percent approval and 34 percent disapproval rating, compared with 42 percent and 37 percent for Democrats. . . . Democrats celebrate one-year anniversary of Sen. **Jim Jeffords** (I., Vt.) bolting GOP with outdoor rally near Capitol. . . . In Texas Senate race, attorney general **John Cornyn** (R.) holds small lead over former Dallas mayor **Ron Kirk** (D.), 46 percent to 44 percent. . . . **Rudy Giuliani** and NRA



endorse Sen. **Bob Smith** over Rep. **John Sununu** in New Hampshire GOP Senate primary. . . . In Colorado, 68 percent support **Ron Unz**'s ballot initiative to abolish bilingual education, according to *Rocky Mountain News* poll. . . . Teamsters president **James P. Hoffa** backs New York governor **George Pataki** for reelection: "We are endorsing a progressive, Republican governor, and that shows that we are basically not tied to one party." . . . Fairleigh Dickinson poll of New Jersey voters shows former governor **Christie Whitman** (R.) with 42 percent favorable rating and 50 percent unfavorable. . . . Democratic pollster **Mark Penn** says his party must target "office-park dads"—they live in suburbs with soccer-mom wives, work in cubicles, own stock, and voted for Bush in 2000.

■ Drug czar **John Walters** on recent advertising, in *Wall Street Journal*: "This campaign isn't reducing drug use." . . . Peace Corps applications increase 40 percent. . . . Ferries to Statue of Liberty install facial-recognition surveillance system following FBI warnings about potential terrorist attack on NYC landmarks. . . . Libertarian Cato Institute celebrates 25th anniversary. "A lot of our views were pretty far outside the mainstream" a quarter century ago, says president **Ed Crane** in *National Journal*. "A lot of them still are, but the mainstream's moved a lot closer to us these days." . . . Kansas City reopens once-crumbling 217-foot Liberty Memorial, America's largest World War I memorial. . . . Bill Clinton rakes in $250,000 for half-hour speech in China.

■ "What we need above all for Russia is an absolutely nondiscriminatory access to world markets and to U.S. markets," says Putin. "We don't need preferences. We don't need subsidies. We don't need special favors. We just want normal, simple, ordinary, fair trade relations." . . . "The biggest request we are making of Western countries is to open their markets," says president **Yoweri Museveni** of Uganda. "Debt relief has saved us some money, but the real money will come from trade. Give us the opportunities, and we will compete." . . . International commission led by American **Penn Kemble** issues report condemning slavery in Sudan: "They burn villages, loot cattle, rape and kill civilians, and abduct and enslave men, women, and children." . . . Finland approves construction of nuclear reactor that will be European Union's first in eleven years.

■ At Competitive Enterprise Institute's annual dinner, OMB director **Mitch Daniels** gives example of philosophical conversations with his college-age daughter: "If **James Carville** and **Geraldo Rivera** were both drowning, and you could only save one, would you read the paper or eat lunch?" **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In 20 years, she'll be ready to buy her first home. We're already arranging the financing.

In the next ten years, 65 million families will want to buy homes. Fifteen million for the first time. They will expect low-cost mortgage money to be readily available, just as it has for the last 30 years. So will your children. So will their children.

Our job is to help make sure they're not disappointed. We're Freddie Mac. We exist for the sole purpose of establishing and maintaining a stable and adequate supply of funds to be used exclusively to finance homes. Not cars, not boats, not vacations. Just homes.

It's a very public mission few companies are prepared to carry out. It requires not only a singular focus on homeownership, but what Moody's Investors Service calls a "deeply ingrained risk-conservatism." A company Moody's ranks "among the best financial firms worldwide."

Which simply means "we'll be ready when she is." For more on how we expand homeownership, visit freddiemac.com.

Freddie Mac

We Open Doors®

www.freddiemac.com

©2002 Freddie Mac

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ In a recent interview, Vermont senator James Jeffords mentioned that the Senate Democrats joined in singing "Consider Yourself (at Home)," from *Oliver!*, when he joined their caucus. In the musical, didn't that song welcome Oliver into a gang of pickpockets?

■ For $150, Republican donors can get three photographs of highlights of President George W. Bush's first year in office. One of those photos shows him, in an airplane, making a phone call on 9/11. "A shameless fund-raising ploy," said Democratic representative Nita Lowey, "politiciz[ing] the tragic events of September 11." Hold on, Nita. Bush was president on September 11; he has directed the war on terror; shouldn't he be able to take credit for its successes? Did President Lincoln in 1864 talk only about the Homestead Act? Come to think of it, Lincoln politicized the Mexican War when he was a congressman (he argued against it, vehemently). Former president Bill Clinton reportedly expressed regret that he did not face this challenge. Should President Bush—can he—ignore the fact that it has come to him?

■ Washington is so arranged that tax cuts are a matter of intense deliberation while spending goes up on autopilot. Over the last five years, domestic spending has risen by 35 percent. Congress is set to increase it again this year, by another 15 percent—in which case, as the *Wall Street Journal* editorializes, "President Bush will have presided over the largest two-year spending boost since the Great Society." Bush has done one large thing to restrain spending: If not for his tax cut, passed last year, no doubt spending would be even higher. But he ought to do something more direct this year: threaten to veto profligate spending bills.

■ As a Ted Kennedy staffer in the 1980s, Gregory B. Craig organized Senate hearings whose purpose was to make Nicaragua's anti-Communist rebels look like monsters. As a high-powered Williams & Connolly lawyer in the 1990s, he represented Bill Clinton during impeachment and Elián González's father (and thus, one might argue, the Castro regime, which was controlling the father) during that controversy. Now this activist-attorney has a new client: Colin Powell's State Department. State hired him as an outside counsel in a wrongful-discharge case brought by whistleblower Linda Shenwick, a career employee who exposed waste and mismanagement at the U.N. and was promptly dismissed for it by Madeleine Albright. The Department of State may be obligated to defend itself in these proceedings, though its conduct in this case is highly questionable. The decision to hire Craig, however, is simply bizarre—the sort of thing one would expect from a Gore administration.

■ John Magaw, the head of the Transportation Security Administration, told Congress that the Bush administration opposes the arming of pilots as an anti-hijacking measure. Pilots, he said, should concentrate on flying the plane rather than fighting terrorists. But he is still considering whether to let pilots have stun guns, which would involve no less distraction. It makes sense to include pilots in an airplane-security strategy. Most of them already have firearms training, and they are already screened for mental health. They could easily be equipped with bullets that would pose no risk of piercing the plane and causing it to lose pressure. Under current policy, the last line of defense is to shoot down hijacked planes. Given this alternative, surely there should be a next-to-the-last defense: letting pilots shoot down the hijackers instead.

■ Just what does Sen. Lieberman hope to accomplish by issuing a subpoena to the White House for information about its contacts with Enron? In March, Lieberman, who is chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, and a possible Democratic presidential candidate in 2004, asked the White House for the information. The White House pledged to turn it over by the end of May. But Lieberman pushed ahead with a plan to have the committee issue a subpoena on May 22—even after the White House promised to send some of the information that very day. Lieberman forced through the subpoena on a party-line vote. Then, as promised, the information arrived from the White House. It showed that there had been more contacts between White House staffers and representatives of Enron than had previously been known, but it did nothing to change the basic fact that the White House played no role in Enron's rise or collapse. Nothing scandalous, in other words. But Lieberman promises to keep digging—all the way to the election, if need be.

■ To hear Gray Davis and other Democrats tell it, California's recent electricity mess is the result of the sinister machinations of Enron. In proof, they have seized on newly released memos in which Enron executives discussed, among themselves, strategies to exploit the profit-making opportunities created by the state's price controls. The colorful names that the Enronites gave these strategies—such as "Get Shorty," "Death Star," and "Ricochet"—have lent credence to the Democrats' accusations. Peter VanDoren and Jerry Taylor, energy experts at the Cato Institute, have analyzed these strategies in some detail. Their conclusion: While some of Enron's maneuvers actually increased the supply of electricity when California needed it, they may have been responsible for a small fraction of the price spike the state experienced. But they were not the source of the problem.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Philadelphia Freedom

John E. Chubb is chief education officer, Edison Schools; distinguished visiting fellow, Hoover Institution; and member, Hoover's Koret Task Force on K–12 Education.

Philadelphia, where America's founders gathered to declare independence and defend liberty, has struck another blow for freedom—and one that could be nearly as historic. This spring Philadelphia's School Reform Commission (SRC) voted to privatize up to 75 of the city's 240 schools. The management of many of Philadelphia's worst-performing schools is to be turned over to seven not-for-profit or for-profit organizations—including the University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, Edison Schools, and Chancellor-Beacon Schools.

Although other cities have contracted with outside organizations for the management of schools, and many cities, including Philadelphia, have allowed independent charter schools to provide a measure of choice in public education, **no city has come close to Philadelphia in "freeing up" the supply of public schools.** This fall more than a quarter of the 200,000-plus students in Philadelphia will be served by public schools not under the district's direct control.

The importance of Philadelphia's decision cannot be overstated. Philadelphia has struggled to educate its young people. Roughly 60 percent of Philadelphia's students failed the state's reading and math exams, and more than a third dropped out of high school. Three-fourths of the city's schools are identified as low performing, meaning that more than half of a given school's students are failing. Efforts to improve the schools have yielded minimal progress. These statistics are not unique to Philadelphia. Every city in America is grappling with the same problems to some degree.

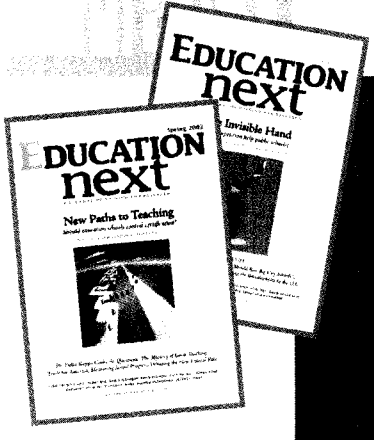
What is unique to Philadelphia is the response. In December 2001, the governor of Pennsylvania and the mayor of Philadelphia agreed to an increase in state funding for Philadelphia's schools and to transfer control of the school district from the local board of education to the SRC. That agreement also outlined plans to privatize a large number of the city's lowest-performing schools. The boldness of this lies not so much in the takeover of the district by the state—states have done this with schools numerous times—but in the takeover of school management by entities other than the state or the district.

During the past decade policymakers became persuaded that schools in general, and particularly schools in large urban systems, will not improve substantially until they are subjected to the pressures of competition. Policymakers recognize that they will never satisfactorily mandate school improvement from above; the school practices that need to change are too numerous and complex to legislate. Competition offers a mechanism that has worked virtually everywhere except education to promote improvements in quality and efficiency.

Competition has not worked in education because it has never really been tried. For the past 150 years public education has been provided by school districts with the exclusive right to operate public schools within their jurisdiction. In recent years policymakers have chipped away at this exclusive right with charter schools and voucher programs. But the Philadelphia story is different—its privatization initiative is large scale. Therein lies a historic opportunity to set a new course for America's public schools and to provide new hope for America's urban youth.

— John E. Chubb

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



Interested in more commentary on public policy?

Visit us on-line at **www.hoover.org** *or contact us to receive a complimentary copy of the 200-page, award-winning* Hoover Digest.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Prices rose because of a drought that reduced hydroelectricity production, and an unusually hot summer and cold winter that increased demand. And if Enron gamed the state's regulatory scheme, that is in part the fault of the state's politicians, who created a scheme that could be gamed. Not for the first time, a government tried to outsmart the market, only to have the market outsmart it.

■ Try as it might to avoid the issue, the Bush administration is going to have to deal with racial preferences. In a case involving the University of Michigan, a federal court of appeals has just ruled that law schools may employ preferences to achieve racial diversity. The legal pros and cons are not in fine balance. On the court's side of the argument: one Supreme Court justice's opinion, which no other justice endorsed, in a 1978 case. On the other side: the clear words of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which bars racial discrimination by universities that receive federal money. The Michigan ruling is in conflict with decisions by other courts of appeals, so the Supreme Court is likely to step in to clarify the law. When it decides to adjudicate the issue, what advice will the Bush administration's lawyers give it? Justice Sandra Day O'Connor may very well look to it for guidance. Conservatives will be watching, too.

■ Everyone hates telemarketers—probably even the 6 million people who work in the field do, when they're at home being bothered. Responding to this popular sentiment, the Federal Trade Commission has proposed establishing a national "do not call" list: Sign up, and it would be illegal for the telemarketers to call you. It's a tempting idea, but before endorsing federal action we should ask a few questions. Are there alternatives to federal action? Yes. Individuals annoyed by unwanted calls can screen calls using either caller ID or answering machines; they can buy cheap devices that block electronically generated calls; or, in some states, they can sign up with state "do not call" lists. Is there constitutional warrant for federal action here? It's hard to see how cutting down on minor annoyances falls among the delegated responsibilities of the federal government. Telemarketers should show some restraint, but so should the FTC.

■ President Bush's trip to Europe took place amid growing European surliness about our power, and American surliness about that surliness. Among conservatives, sentiment appears to be growing for going our separate ways. But this is not a sensible option, as it would encourage the development of a rival superpower. This magazine has long argued that a pan-European state would be contrary to American interests, both because of the logic of its position as a competitor and because of its *dirigiste* ideological tendencies. Now EU official Chris Patten has as much as said that resentment of American power will serve as the sentimental basis of the European project. Similar statements by other European leaders are not hard to find. The rise of Le Pen-style nationalism is another vindication of our analysis: European integration was supposed to be the antidote to such outbreaks, but it has instead turned out to be their cause. The logical conclusion from this analysis is not that America should seethe at Europe from the sidelines, which would only spur the Euro-nationalists; still less is it that America should continue to express *support* for European integration, as Bush did in Berlin on this trip. It is rather that we should engage Europe more vigorously: encouraging European nations to make a larger military contribution to NATO and to abandon a European defense force, in return for our taking their military views more seriously; working toward a transatlantic free-trade zone including pro-American regimes on Europe's periphery (especially Turkey and perhaps Russia); and, in general, siding with those Europeans who favor a larger, freer, more open and Atlanticist Europe. That would be good for America, for global stability—and for ordinary Europeans themselves, who, let's not forget, have shown much less enthusiasm for a European superstate than their rulers have.

■ At least in Colombia, the political elite has finally learned the lessons of pursuing a "peace process" with thugs and murderers. In 1998, Colombian president Andres Pastrana handed over a chunk of the country the size of Switzerland to FARC on the theory that such a gesture would win goodwill and warm feelings from the communist rebels. Instead: more hijackings, kidnappings, and murder—all funded by drug trafficking. Colombia has now broken with this make-nice approach, electing Alvaro Uribe Velez president on a platform of smashing the rebels. It is another good sign that the Bush administration is abandoning the absurd idea that U.S. assistance to Colombia should be used only against drug cultivation and trafficking and not against the rebels themselves. Uribe deserves the civilized world's best wishes and, if he succeeds in vanquishing FARC, a Nobel Peace Prize.

■ The graying American president offered trade with Cuba in return for political and economic reforms. Jimmy Carter on his recent trip? No, George W. Bush in a speech commemorating the 100th anniversary of Cuban independence. Bush lifted restrictions on humanitarian assistance and offered scholarships for Cuban students. He offered normalization if the Cuban government held free, internationally monitored parliamentary elections in 2003, and loosened the straitjacket on the economy (e.g., by permitting Cubans to form independent trade unions, to keep hard-currency wages paid by foreign employers, and to use Cuban hotels now marked *Solamente Turistas*). Bush promised that America would respond to "step by step" improvements. He also told the truth: Castro is "a tyrant who uses brutal methods to enforce a bankrupt vision." Castro will never relax his grip without powerful inducements. Will liberals and Europeans ever relax their grip on the notion that Castro is a beloved populist who does not have to make any reforms?

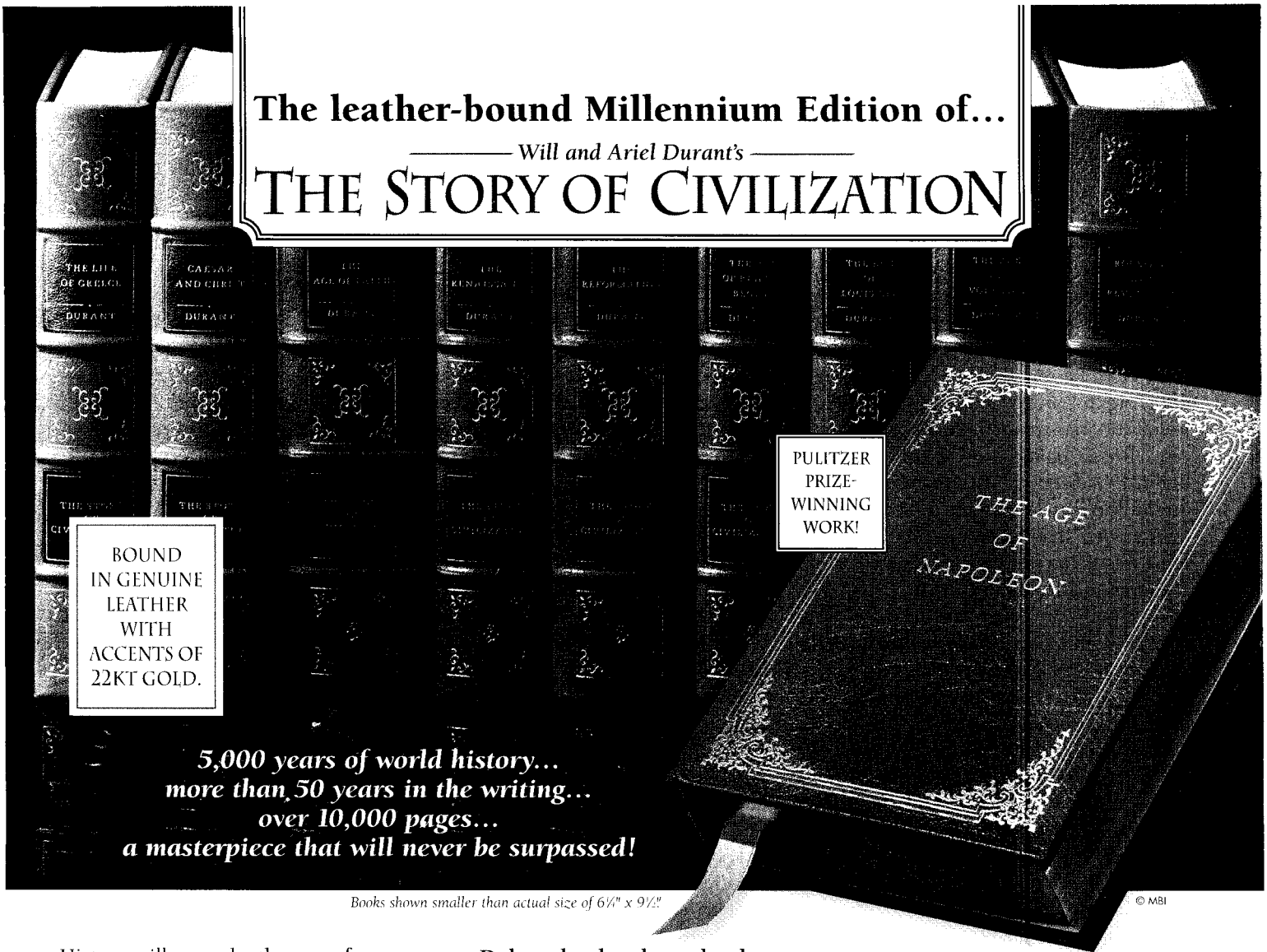
■ You never know when Castroite propaganda will hit you—you could be at the ballet. The American Ballet Theater is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The leather-bound Millennium Edition of...

Will and Ariel Durant's

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION


BOUND IN GENUINE LEATHER WITH ACCENTS OF 22KT GOLD.
PULITZER PRIZE-WINNING WORK!
THE AGE OF NAPOLEON
5,000 years of world history...
more than 50 years in the writing...
over 10,000 pages...
a masterpiece that will never be surpassed!

Books shown smaller than actual size of 6¼" x 9½".

© MBI

History will never be the same for you and your family! Now, you can own the classic work on world civilization. Easton Press is proud to present the leather-bound edition of *The Story of Civilization* by Will and Ariel Durant.

No other work of history can top it—the scope, the sweep, the scholarship and the depth. These volumes teach "lessons of history" that you will always remember...and often use.

The most comprehensive work of history ever written!

The Story of Civilization is a seamless, unbroken narrative. It links the ancient world and modern. It takes in the whole of civilization, including philosophy, science, religion and art.

You'll meet the movers and shapers of history. Explore the mysteries of ancient Egypt, and celebrate the glory of Greece and Rome. Understand the Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment and more.

Deluxe leather-bound volumes—affordably priced!

Each luxurious volume is fully bound in premium-quality leather and is printed on acid-neutral paper to last for generations. Traditional hubbed spines are accented with precious 22kt gold. Endsheets are luxurious moiré fabric, and page ends are gilded for beauty and protection.

Easton Press is pleased to make *The Story of Civilization* available at just $65 per volume, plus shipping and handling. On approval of your first volume, you will receive the rest of the 11-volume set at the convenient rate of just one book per month. Your satisfaction is fully guaranteed.

This work belongs in every home... and now you can own the complete set, beautifully bound in leather. Return your Reservation Application today.

The Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue • Norwalk, CT 06857

CALL TOLL FREE:
1-800-367-4534
Extension 270-157

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Easton Press
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, CT 06857

Call Toll Free:
1-800-367-4534
Ext. 270-157

THE STORY OF CIVILIZATION

Please send me my first volume of the leather-bound edition of Will and Ariel Durant's *The Story of Civilization*. I understand that there is no obligation to purchase at this time. If I choose to subscribe, I may return any volume within 30 days for a replacement or full refund, and either party may cancel this subscription at any time.

Name _____
Please print clearly.

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Signature _____
(All applications are subject to acceptance.)

You need send no money now.

You will be billed prior to shipment including $4.25 shipping and handling and any applicable sales tax. Higher shipping and handling outside the U.S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

now in residence at the Metropolitan Opera House, and its star attraction is Carlos Acosta, a Cuban-born dancer. An article in ABT's program informs, "Cuba enjoys a great ballet tradition, which Fidel Castro fully supports. Consequently, any Cuban child can attend the state-supported ballet schools and receive good instruction." Thing is, schools in Communist countries *tend* to be state-supported—that's sort of the point of Communism. Cuba has always been a dance-loving society, but Castro abolished the private dance academies when he seized power. Does Castro use the ballet and other arts for propagandistic purposes? Of course. Dictators usually do. Hitler and Stalin did. One could easily have written, "Russia enjoys a great ballet tradition, which Joseph Stalin fully supports. Consequently, any Russian child can attend the state-supported ballet schools and receive good instruction." The tendency of free people to puff up or perfume the dictator in Havana is one of the great scandals and mysteries of our times.

■ Like their American sisters in arms, British women in the military fly combat aircraft and serve on warships and in combat-support positions. Following a two-year study, however, British defense secretary Geoff Hoon has announced that he will not risk combat effectiveness by opening military units that "close with the enemy" to women. But the employment minister, Margaret Hodge, continues to agitate for combat integration, in the hope that women will also "take their share of the disabled." Actually, female combatants would take far more than their share of casualties. The study found that most women showed a lesser capacity for aggression and failed to perform as well as men on key physical tests—by a lot. Only 0.1 percent of female applicants, and 1 percent of trained female soldiers, were able to meet the standards for direct combat roles. Why is New Labour suddenly showing more interest in combat effectiveness than equal opportunity? Perhaps because some Labour ministers have now seen the face of battle in trouble spots like Afghanistan and Sierra Leone. War does tend to concentrate the mind.

■ CBS's airing of the Daniel Pearl ritual-murder video caused great agony in the country. There were many arguments, for and against. It was said that the terrorists' video was a kind of pornography, degrading and sensationalistic. It was said that the broadcast would inspire similar taped ritual murders, as terrorists realized that they could get American air-time. It was noted that other networks had refused to run the tape. And it was noted that the Pearl family violently objected. All true, and all important. And yet the tape served to remind Americans of the nature of the enemy we face. It has been a long time since September 11, and those initial pictures. Memories fade; war fever subsides. When Maureen Dowd in the *New York Times* writes, or quotes President Bush as saying, "evildoers," she does so with a snicker—and yet, doers of evil they are. Furthermore, Americans must be realistic about Islamic extremism: its anti-Americanism, its anti-Semitism, its murderousness. We were shielded from the stark truth for too long. If CBS's act did nothing else, it reminded those who may have forgotten: This is why we fight.

■ The body of Chandra Levy, the 24-year-old intern who had been the mistress of Rep. Gary Condit (D., Calif.), was found in Rock Creek Park in Washington, D.C., 13 months after she disappeared, and the tabloids and the cable news shows took up the story once again—though not, as the *New York Times* sniffily noted, in the "all-Chandra-all-the-time" mode of last summer. September 11 has happened, and we are now serious. This is partly true (would that we were even more serious). But it is also true that when a congressman's evasions materially harm an investigation into a possible murder, and when the congressman himself is a suspect, that is a serious story. Among other things, Condit (who will not be re-elected, having lost a primary) sits on the Select Committee on Intelligence. Should there be a blackmailable person on such a committee in wartime—or any time?

■ There is grumbling among the students of Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School. Are teachers assigning too much homework? Is the lunch hour being shortened? No, the grousing is over this year's graduation speaker, Condoleezza Rice. The problem is that, as national security adviser, she is involved in the effort to protect the nation—including the towns of Bethesda and Chevy Chase—from murderous fanatics bent on our destruction. Perennial pacifist Colman McCarthy, formerly of the *Washington Post* and now a teacher of Peace Studies at the school, praised the protesting students, saying "students deserve better than someone who advocates, as Rice does, sending U.S. pilots to kill human beings in Afghanistan." The kids are lucky to have her: She will be able to teach them about real peace, and what it takes to achieve it.

■ Norman Mailer, speaking recently at a panel sponsored by the *New York Times* on the topic "Writers and Cold War Culture," described life as a writer in the 1950s: "We writers felt much more excitement than today. We felt like the Russian dissidents felt later." In the '50s, when Mailer was co-founding the *Village Voice*, flacking for the Soviet Union, and glorifying the liberatory aspects of rape, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was in the Gulag, enduring brutal conditions and doing his writing on tiny scraps of paper, which he had to destroy after memorizing their contents. In the '60s, when Mailer was writing a monthly column for *Esquire*, running for mayor of New York City, protesting the Vietnam War, reporting on the political conventions, and generally being lionized, Solzhenitsyn was having his manuscripts and archives confiscated by the police and being expelled from the writers' union. Later, while Solzhenitsyn was being branded a traitor and exiled from his country, Mailer was making movies, writing verse, and publishing books on the free soil of his homeland. Yes, Mailer was *just like* a Russian dissident.

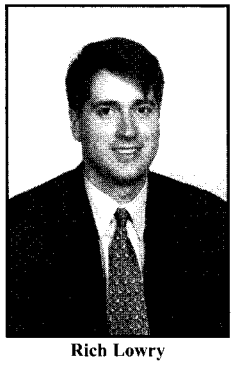
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

YOUNG AMERICA'S FOUNDATION

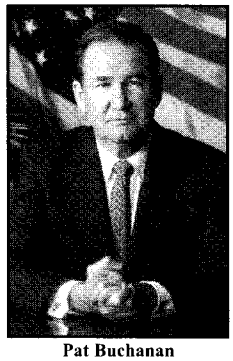
NATIONAL CONSERVATIVE STUDENT CONFERENCE

JULY 21-27, 2002 - GEORGE WASHINGTON U. - WASHINGTON, D.C.

Apply now, before it's too late! Space is limited!



Rich Lowry
Editor
National Review



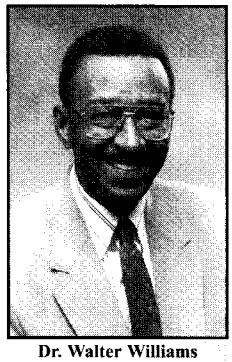
Pat Buchanan
Author and former
Presidential Candidate

Ann Coulter
Author and
Syndicated Columnist

Ted Nugent
American Rock and
Sporting Legend

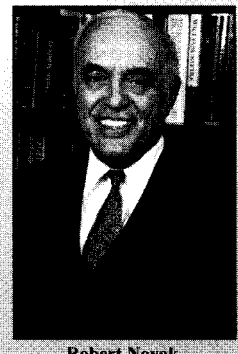
Ron Robinson
President
Young America's Foundation

Burt Folsom
Historian
Center for the American Idea



Dr. Walter Williams
Economist
and Author

John Fund
Author and
Commentator



Robert Novak
Syndicated Columnist and
Commentator

THESE GREAT SPEAKERS AND MORE! PLUS, SPEND A DAY VISITING CAPITOL HILL AND BE IN THE AUDIENCE FOR CNN'S *CROSSFIRE*!

"The Young America's Foundation National Conservative Student Conference is one of the best and most useful academic experiences of my life. I cannot imagine another student conference offering as much practical advice on how to succeed as both a leader and a conservative as the NCSC does."

- Justin Rubenstein, Washington & Lee University

National Headquarters
F.M. Kirby Freedom Center
110 Elden Street
Herndon, Virginia 20170
800-292-9231

National Journalism Center
800 Maryland Avenue, NE
Washington, DC 20002
202-544-1333

The Reagan Ranch Center
217 State Street
Santa Barbara, California 93101
877-797-7325

For further information, contact Melissa at:

800-292-9231 or www.yaf.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ The Nov. 19, 2001, issue of NATIONAL REVIEW contained some astonishing pictures from the Abercrombie & Fitch catalog then current. A & F were using the naked or near-naked bodies of young adults in a big way to attract customers. They have now gone further, marketing a line of thong underwear for children. Thong underwear, for readers not *au courant* in these matters (and who slept through the Clinton scandals), is minimal and, well, *rearless*. This new A & F line comes in sizes for girls aged 10 to 16, and some items have slogans printed on the front: "eye candy" and "wink wink," for example. Are there really parents who would be happy for their ten-year-old daughter to wear thong panties boasting the legend "eye candy"? Possibly not: A & F stock has been enduring a long slump, and there is, as the saying goes, no such thing as bad publicity. So perhaps it's all just a stunt. This is the optimistic explanation. The other one doesn't bear thinking about.

■ The Catholic sex scandals have taken down Milwaukee archbishop Rembert Weakland. Twenty years ago, Weakland fell in love with Paul Marcoux, a thirtysomething theology student who, it is clear, played Weakland like a banjo. According to a painful letter published by the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, Weakland ended the affair and took up again his broken vow of celibacy. His repentance was incomplete, however, for he later paid $450,000 out of diocesan funds to buy Marcoux's silence. This was not only a theft of the donations of Milwaukee's Catholics, it was also a continuation of the offense. Arthur Dimmesdale, the adulterous clergyman in Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Scarlet Letter*, found at the end of his life that the guilt of moral leaders can be purged only by honesty. The Roman Catholic Church is learning this lesson.

■ The late George Willard of Carl Junction, Mo., achieved modest fame three years ago when a television show in England featured his living arrangements. George shared a trailer with a pony, Pixel, whom he introduced to viewers as his "wife." The show came furnished with all the obvious jokes appropriate to Mr. Willard's domestic set-up: "stable relationships," "rolls in the hay," and so on. It highlighted the phenomenon called, by those involved (those capable of speech, that is), "zoophilia," which Messrs. Merriam and Webster define to be "an erotic fixation on animals." The particular mode in which Mr. Willard manifested his fixation on Pixel was actually illegal in 29 states at the time. That number is now 30: Embarrassed by the publicity that followed the TV program, Missouri legislators have outlawed zoophilia. The widowed Mrs. Willard has been sold to a man in Texas . . . a state that has no zoophobic legislation on its books.

■ Australia and Turkey are about as far apart as two countries can be, and would seem to have nothing at all in common. It is one of the curiosities of history that both received their greatest impetus to a modern national consciousness from the same events, a series of battles fought from April to December of 1915, known collectively as Gallipoli. In an attempt to get the Ottoman Empire out of World War I, Britain mounted a land and sea assault on southern Turkey's Gallipoli peninsula. Two divisions of Australian and New Zealand troops were included in the land operations. The whole campaign was a disaster, and more than 8,000 Australians died, along with 2,400 New Zealanders. These losses, from small populations in young countries, made a deep impression. ANZAC Day (April 25th) is still celebrated with great solemnity in the Antipodes. The Turks' victory made the reputation of their commander, Mustafa Kemal, who went on to create the modern Turkish republic, somewhat immodestly awarding himself the surname "Ataturk" ("Father Turk") along the way. Ataturk is long gone from us—he died in 1938—but a dwindling corps of Gallipoli veterans have shown up every year on ANZAC Day to honor their comrades' sacrifice. No longer: The last survivor of the Gallipoli ANZACs faded away on May 16 in Hobart, Tasmania, at the age of 103. He had marched in a parade on ANZAC Day just a few weeks earlier. "Tranquil you lie, your knightly virtue proved . . ."

■ Stephen Jay Gould was a better popularizer than he was a scientist. Nothing wrong with that—knowledge is not the property of the elect. His written chautauqua lectures often took an impetus, however, from his left-wing politics. Sociobiologists, who look for clues to human nature in the deposits of evolution, were anathema to him, since leftist man, who understands the processes of history, must be the maker of his own destiny. Creationists were a bumbling God squad—so much so that he felt he could afford, in his later years, to treat them with some forbearance. He wrote a sprightly essay on Joe DiMaggio's hitting streak, and his 20-year bout with cancer made him a powerful advocate for medical marijuana. R.I.P.

■ Sam Snead was one of golf's greatest swingers, and greatest cusses—everyone has a Sam story, or twenty, not all of them fit for polite company, and not all of them pleasant. Truth is, he could be beyond irascible. But he was indisputably a legend, beginning his life in the woods of Virginia,

WORTH A SUBPOENA?

Joe Lieberman, who still defers
To Al, whose leg-up gave
The senator exposure, has
Begun to stamp and wave
As one does when bedeviled by
The presidential itch;
Though to the musically-inclined,
He's hopelessly off-pitch.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

swatting at stones, acorns, and other things with sticks. Soon that swing became almost unbelievably smooth and sweet, much gawked at, impossible to imitate. Snead was a greatly athletic person, delighting in kicking the ceiling of most any room, for the amazement of friends (and others). He also lasted a long, long time, in his sport: At 52, he was the oldest man ever to win a PGA Tour event. Despite his seven "majors"—same as Tiger Woods has now, by the way, at the age of 26—he never won the U.S. Open, the blot on his fabulous record. That record includes 81 Tour wins: the most ever. Of three great players whom we normally group—Ben Hogan, Sam Snead, and Byron Nelson—only Nelson is left. The legendary, inimitable Sam Snead—"Slammin' Sammy Snead"—is dead at 89. R.I.P.

AT WAR

What We Know

FOR years, the prize for tabloid headline zip and overstatement was held by the New York *Daily News*: FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD. This May, that paper was passed by the *New York Post:* BUSH KNEW. The president, in other words, knew before September 11 that such an event was coming.

Democrats had a field day with the most sensational tidbit, that Bush had been given a briefing in August that warned that al-Qaeda might attempt a hijacking. Sen. Clinton took the *Post* headline to the well of the Senate. House minority leader Richard Gephardt, flashing back to Watergate, said "We need to know what people knew, and when they knew it." (We need to know where Dick Gephardt acquired such feeble rhetorical habits, and why he acquired them.) But first prize went to Joe Lockhart, who said that the administration's initial post–9/11 professions of surprise "took parsing to a brand new level. They were very precise [in what they said], but [they] trampled the spirit of our language." Mr. Lockhart, it must be remembered, was the Diogenes of the president who wondered what the meaning of "is" was.

Cooler heads noted that presidents do not pore over satellite photos with magnifying glasses, but rely on the information of the experts who work for them, and that the August briefing was not in fact that specific. Did our crime-fighting and intelligence agencies serve him ill? This was the charge of two FBI agents. Coleen Rowley, in the Minneapolis office—which was investigating Zacarias Moussaoui, now thought to be the 20th hijacker—leaked a bitter 13-page letter addressed to director Robert S. Mueller. She charged that FBI headquarters in Washington "inexplicably thr[e]w up roadblocks and undermine[d] Minneapolis's . . . desperate efforts to obtain" a warrant to search Moussaoui's laptop computer. Rowley also complained that Minneapolis was not told of a July memo by agent Kenneth Williams, in the Phoenix office, which had suggested that al-Qaeda was trying to infiltrate American flight schools.

Partisan point-scoring is not in itself a bad thing. The American system is designed to induce politicians to pursue the public good in pursuit of their own interest. It is also no bad thing to have the Democrats criticizing Bush from his right. If they showed more wisdom, and if they had better records of security consciousness themselves, they would be more credible, and do the country more good.

With all the evidence we have, President Bush can manifestly defend himself for his actions before 9/11. The Bush administration, like the Bush campaign, however, has a tendency to lower a cone of protection around all of its associates. The president should not preemptively spring to the defense of the FBI and the CIA. Looking into their pre-war failures is not a distraction in wartime, since the success of the war depends, in no small part, on their effectiveness. Bad apples have to be discarded, and bad habits changed.

Is the proper forum for this investigation congressional hearings, or an independent commission? Congress will investigate, whether or not there is a commission. But Congress wants an independent commission, too, while the White House wants to leave the job in the hands of Congress. Two investigations into this matter are hardly excessive, and a commission made up of serious and thoughtful people—on the model of the Rumsfeld commission on the ballistic-missile threat—could render a service. An effective head of such a body might well be former mayor, and prosecutor, Rudy Giuliani.

The most important problem facing Washington and the country, however, is not the run-up to 9/11, but the preparations for the next phase of the war. One of the reasons for the current brouhaha is that we are in one of this war's many news holes, caused by its many lulls. The rhythms of this conflict are less like the full-time grinds of Vietnam, Korea, and World War II than like the stop-and-start character of the American Revolution, or the War of 1812. Then the gaps in fighting were caused by sheer logistical nightmares. Now we have our own logistical problems—it was months between the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and the opening of Desert Storm—as well as enemies, some of whom are elusive terrorist entities.

But the war goes on. Americans know this, better than the political and pundit classes. The warnings of new terrorist attacks, by Vice President Cheney—"It's not a matter of 'if,' but 'when'"—and Secretary Rumsfeld—"They inevitably will get their hands on them [i.e., nukes]"—are not telling most people anything they don't already know. All the flags are still on the bumpers and the T-shirts. The symbols are cheap, but what they symbolize is not. We lost 3,000 of our own last fall, and we will lose more. When we are done, our enemies will envy us.

AT WAR II

'Time Is Not on Our Side'

FROM the beginning, the comforting thing about the war on terrorism has been the assumption that the U.S. would win. How could we not, given our enormous wealth

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and military power, and the backwardness of al-Qaeda and the countries associated with it? But political will isn't so easily quantifiable. As President Bush's will has seemed to flag, he has suffered a loss of momentum on all fronts: He appears to have been distracted from pursuing regime change in Iraq by the Israeli–Palestinian conflict; Pakistan has been returning to old habits, releasing many of the militants it arrested at the start of the year and allowing jihadists—in a possible provocation to war with India—to continue to cross the border into Kashmir; and the U.S. uniformed military leadership has reportedly succeeded in at least postponing, and may be trying to kill off entirely, a U.S. invasion of Iraq.

This last item is the most disturbing, and is another sign that America's military leadership can be unimaginative and backward-looking. The uniformed bureaucracy successfully resisted Donald Rumsfeld's efforts to wrench the military from its taste for 1970s- and '80s-era weapons systems last year, and it is fighting a rearguard action against them still, even after the demonstration of the effectiveness of the new-generation military in Afghanistan. The tussle over Iraq appears to be another front in this civilian-military battle, with the generals trying to make policy instead of simply executing it.

That said, the Joint Chiefs may have legitimate worries. They reportedly say there aren't enough refueling planes to support a sustained air campaign against Iraq, because those planes are so old and rickety (one third are in repairs). They also are said to worry about having to keep tens of thousands of troops in Iraq after the war, given other commitments around the world and their belief, repeatedly stated publicly, that the military is already short 50,000 troops. This is the "hollow" military that Republicans complained about in the 1990s coming home to roost, as U.S. forces feature an odd combination of fantastic technology, personnel shortfalls, and rust-bucket equipment. The longer President Bush goes without addressing this problem with even larger defense-spending increases than he has proposed, the more it becomes his responsibility, rather than Bill Clinton's.

Also, the military can't be blamed for not relishing the idea of sending U.S. troops into battle against an adversary armed with chemical and biological weapons. But this should reinforce the urgency of toppling Saddam's regime. Liberals have long told us that we needn't bother to develop a missile defense because the possession of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) by a rogue state wouldn't deter the U.S., but instead make it certain that the U.S. would launch a preemptive attack. Well, now we have a real-world test—and the U.S. is indeed being deterred. A WMD capability has now become that much more valuable to every rogue state around the world. Just imagine if Saddam definitely had nuclear weapons—the Joint Chiefs probably wouldn't even want to *think* about invading. This is why President Bush said "time is not on our side."

It isn't just Saddam's WMD capability that should prompt the U.S. to rid the world of his regime as soon as possible, but the fact that his ouster can be just the *beginning* of an effort to transform the Middle East and to root out Islamic radicalism at its sources. It would give the U.S. the foothold to work on toppling, or radically changing the behavior of, Tehran, Damascus, Riyadh, and their client, whoever that may be at the time (Arafat or some other Palestinian strongman), in Ramallah. Bush will repeatedly have to overcome the forces of inertia or timidity in Washington, and around the world, to pursue this task. If the initiative can be lost—as in fact it has been—it can also be regained.

IMMIGRATION

Time for Realism

HOW do Muslim terrorists get into this country? Any way they can—and American immigration policy, and the manner in which it is enforced, give them many ways.

A recent report by Steven A. Camarota of the Center for Immigration Studies looks at 48 terrorists with al-Qaeda links who have operated in this country since 1993: the 9/11 hijackers, the first World Trade Center bombers, and others. Twelve were illegal aliens. Nineteen were visa holders, or asylum applicants. The rest were lawful permanent residents or naturalized citizens. Some of them broke immigration laws. Mohamed Atta, ringleader of the 9/11 attacks, should have been denied a visa under Section 214(b) of the immigration law, which says that young, unmarried individuals with little income and no strong ties to an overseas residence should not be given temporary visas—a description that fit the vagabond Atta to a T.

Other terrorists have profited from our willingness to throw a party, with an open bar, for the world. Most liberals, and some conservatives, have no objection to naturalizing historically high numbers of immigrants. Neither does Osama bin Laden, according to one of his henchmen, Khalid Abu al Dahab (involved in the bombings of our embassies in Africa), who told an Arabic newspaper that bin Laden "emphasized the necessity of recruiting as many Muslims with American citizenship as possible into the organization."

The Center for Immigration Studies recommends tighter policies, and tighter enforcement of them, across the board: more, and more skeptical, consular agents abroad; more INS agents and border guards here; fingerprints and photographs scanned into the watchlists for terror suspects; a computerized system to track entries and exits of foreign visitors; and, most important, lower levels of immigration overall, to shrink the haystacks in which needles must be sought, and to speed the assimilation of insular ethnic enclaves.

The two roadblocks to such reforms are Republican unrealism and liberal PC. President Bush and his demiurge Karl Rove have visions of a GOP Hispanic voting bloc. Hispanic Americans have responded as loyally to 9/11 as most other Americans, and al-Qaeda has not (yet) tried to slip in murderers over the southern border. But concern for Hispanic

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sensibilities keeps key Republicans immigration-friendly, and unserious about enforcement.

The multiculturalism of postmodern liberals encourages the immigrant populations we have to stay estranged from the mainstream of American life. While only a tiny portion of them will become killers, many more will be unhelpful in hunting killers down. Historically, when Americanism was demanded, immigrants responded. Irish immigrants, first Protestants, then Catholics, were perhaps the worst-treated white ethnic group in our history. Yet they fought well in our 19th-century wars. The German-American community was subjected to intense pressures during World War I. Yet the European commanders in both world wars—Pershing and Eisenhower—were Americans of German origin. During World War II, Japanese-Americans on the West Coast were interned. But American *nisei* military units were among the most zealous. After 9/11, when every sonorous voice, public and private, spoke comfort to Arab-Americans, Arab-American spokesmen carped, and the community responded with a mixture of silent loyalty and sullen indifference. What the proportions of the last two are is anybody's guess.

We have long known that high immigration and slack enforcement were economically null and culturally disruptive. Will we be serious now that we know they are deadly?

■ NOTES & ASIDES ■

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I read somewhere that your great-grandfather (or great-great) was once sheriff of the infamous Duval County in South Texas. Is it true? I grew up in Jim Wells County next door.

Thank you,
James G. Shea
Doraville, Ga.

Dear Mr. Shea: It is true. My grandfather was a law-and-order sheriff and a devout Democrat. His allegiance to the latter transcended the former, as witness that although he died in 1904, he voted for Lyndon Johnson in 1948.
Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: In your column about Billy Graham (NR, April 22), you wrote: "To have said in 1972 that pornographic entrepreneurs were heavily Jewish is different from saying such a thing as, 'Only Jews would engage in pornography' . . . That would indeed be anti-Semitic, but that sentiment is not recorded."

Both statements about Jews are equally anti-Semitic. The veracity of a statement is not what determines whether it is anti-Semitic. Distinguishing among purveyors of porn based on their religion is, by definition, racism.

What is the purpose of pointing out that a certain activity is commonly engaged in by Jews if not to suggest to the audience that a generalization can be drawn therefrom about all Jews? What does being Jewish have to do with being involved in the pornography industry? It is the irrelevant generalization that is anti-Semitic or racist.

People who make racist comments often bemoan that they are not saying anything that is factually incorrect. That is a dangerous argument to accept. It gives legitimacy to racists and allows them to manipulate facts to create inferences.

Sincerely yours,
Daniel Weinberger
Montreal, Canada

Dear Mr. Weinberger: I see your point, but it seems to me rather too clinical to condemn defensible vernacular. Precisely because Jews are a small percentage of the population, the high incidence of them in any activity is remarkable.

One wouldn't say, "The Ivy League is governed by Protestants," because that is on the order of saying that whites are white. "A high proportion of Irish are drunkards" is halfway between that which is so commonplace as to be unremarkable and that which is apparently distinctive.

And then you get this subordinate point: Even if the statement about pornographers and Jews were ruled *eo ipso* anti-Semitic, the person who made the statement isn't derivatively anti-Semitic.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: It may be an East Coast vs. West Coast thing, but I've heard many East Coast folk say that they have "taken" a decision, whereas West Coasters are inclined to "make" a decision. Is it simply regional preference? I hope not, because I do not want to refer to President Bush as the country's "decision-taker."

Your help and comments, please.
Sincerely,
Philip F. Kennedy Jr.
Palm Desert, Calif.

Dear Mr. Kennedy: I have no ear on that one, can't remember hearing about somebody "taking a decision." If I do, I will detain and ship him/her to you C.O.D.

Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley: I have trouble with the many ways the word "got" is used. I read in your "On the Right": "There is plenty of space left over in Guantanamo for more of what we have got . . ." Why not just say, "more of what we have"? I see "got" used so many ways that seem superfluous.

Jean Payne
Nine Mile Falls, Wash.

Dear Ms. Payne: You see "got" used so many ways; so does the dictionary. *American Heritage* gives 16 varieties.
Cordially,

—WFB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ THE WHITE HOUSE ■

The Man Who Won't Veto

One power that George W. Bush eschews

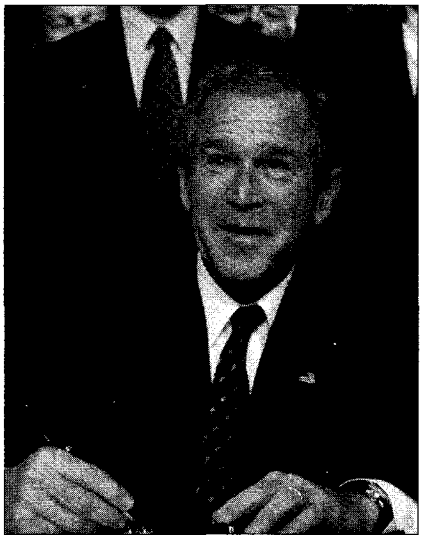
BYRON YORK

IN 1788, as the Founders debated whether the president of the United States should have the power to veto acts of Congress, Alexander Hamilton argued that the president should be able to reject newly passed laws—and that the mere threat of using such a weapon would help keep Congress in line. "A power of this nature in the executive will often have a silent and unperceived, though forcible, operation," Hamilton wrote in *Federalist* No. 73. "When men, engaged in unjustifiable pursuits, are aware that obstructions may come from a quarter which they cannot control, they will often be restrained by the bare apprehension of opposition, from doing what they would with eagerness rush into, if no such external impediments were to be feared."

Was there such fear recently on Capitol Hill, when Congress passed the $190 billion farm bill—a bill that President George W. Bush had indicated he would sign no matter what was in it? Were members of Congress fearful when they passed an education bill he was similarly determined to sign? Were they afraid when they passed campaign-finance reform, which many serious scholars believe is unconstitutional? In each case, Bush not only did not veto the legislation, he did not threaten to veto, either—forfeiting the power that Hamilton saw as critical to the president's relationship with Congress. In fact, in 16 months in office, Bush has yet to veto a single bill.

All of this has some conservatives wondering what it will take for Bush, who has moved aggressively to protect the other powers and prerogatives of the presidency, to veto a bill. "He's veto averse," columnist Robert Novak said recently. "The problem is, he may lose his base."

Maybe, and maybe not—polls consistently show that Bush remains very popular with conservative Republicans. But the president is in danger of losing something else: his credibility with Congress. Yes, he has threatened to veto a few spending measures, and won some concessions from lawmakers. And yes, he won a compromise on a "patient's bill of rights" in part by threatening a veto (although his opponents on the Hill knew he really, really didn't want to do it). But veto threats will work only so long as the other side believes the president might go through with it. Without that, they're just words.



Reuters/Larry Downing

Bush signs farm bill, May 2002

Part of Bush's veto reluctance has to do with his delicate relationship with Congress. While Democrats try to stop Bush's agenda in the Senate, GOP control of the House means that any bill that reaches the president's desk has gone through the senior leadership of his own party. "For the House Republican leaders to schedule something that the president then turns around and vetoes is almost a repudiation of the House leadership," says one senior GOP aide on the Hill. "The White House can't figure out a way to veto a bill without embarrassing House Republicans." (Campaign finance would have been an opportunity to do just that, since its supporters won House approval by bypassing the leadership, but Bush still chose not to act.)

While it stands to reason that a president with a Congress controlled by his own party would veto fewer bills—Bill Clinton did not veto any bills in his first two years in office, when Democrats controlled both houses—presidents in the past have used the veto liberally when control of Congress was divided or in the other party's hands entirely. Ronald Reagan, who had Republican control of the Senate for six of his eight years in office, vetoed 78 bills. Bush's father, who faced opposition in both houses for his entire term, vetoed 44 bills. Whatever the case, when the president vetoes something, Congress is usually unwilling or unable to come up with the two-thirds vote it takes to overturn it. George H. W. Bush was overturned just once. Bill Clinton vetoed 38 bills and was overturned twice. If Bush decides to veto something, he'll probably win.

"You have to veto some bills," says Gary Galemore, an analyst at the Congressional Research Service who has spent years studying the topic. "That really makes the president a part of the legislative process, so when his people on the Hill say something, members have to pay more attention to it." Bush, Galemore continues, "has backed off on several things, and pretty soon you could have the same problem with veto threats that you have with terrorist alerts—people don't pay attention."

Bush has also, at least so far, stayed away from something called the signing statement, which presidents have used in the past to take public positions on bills about which they have reservations, but have chosen to sign. First used by Andrew Jackson in 1830, the signing statement allows a president to make a formal summary of his objections to a bill; it's especially important if the president has doubts about the constitutionality of the measure he is signing. "When President Reagan approved the Gramm-Rudman legislation in 1985 because of his concern that 'deficits have threatened our economic well-being for too long,' he nonetheless observed that the new law unconstitutionally assigned executive functions to agents of Congress," Terry Eastland wrote in *Energy in the Executive*. "The next year, the president through his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Calculus Is the Exploration of Just Two Basic Ideas. Master Them and Open Up a New World for Yourself!

Calculus Made Clear on Video

Calculus has made it possible to build bridges that span miles of river, travel to the moon and predict patterns of population change. To understand calculus is to achieve a more profound understanding and appreciation of life...not only of the way we live, but also of the inner workings of nature and the universe.

Yet for all its computational power, calculus is the exploration of just two ideas, both of which arise from a commonsensical analysis of motion! All a calculus textbook is, Professor Michael Starbird asserts, is these two ideas—the derivative and the integral—and lots of examples, variations, and applications.

What You're Really Studying Is Change!

Calculus is a unique and extraordinarily effective tool for studying change. The methods it uses to study and model motion are identical, mathematically, to the structures that model aspects of economics, traffic flow, finance, electricity, baseball, and many other topics.

A central goal of this course is to teach the concepts of calculus as meaningful ideas. Your instructor—a Distinguished Teaching Professor at University of Texas at Austin—takes the approach that every equation is, in fact, also a sentence that can be understood in English! As a result, you will explore calculus through simple, striking ideas that give this subject its true meaning. The concepts and insights at the heart of calculus take center stage in an accessible and lively presentation.

Here's What You Need to Know to Start!

Professor Starbird is a distinguished and highly popular teacher with an uncommon talent for making the wonders of mathematics clear to non-mathematicians. A central goal of Professor Starbird's lectures is to teach the concepts of calculus as *ideas* rather than *symbols*.

This course requires only a basic acquaintance with beginning high-school level algebra and geometry. Due to the extensive use of graphics, as well as objects for demonstrations, this lecture series is only available in video format. Your video course comes with complete lecture outlines and handsome storage cases.

Not Convinced? Maybe This Will Help!

For a limited time only, you can get the ***Calculus Made Clear*** for a special price of just $54.95 on video, a savings of up to $145 off the regular price! This offer is being made to introduce you to **The Teaching Company**, the renowned educational publisher, which records America's best college teachers for its ***GREAT COURSES*** series.

What You'll Learn...

PART I (12 lectures)

Two Ideas, Vast Implications—Stop Sign Crime: The First Idea of Calculus—Another Car, Another Crime: The Second Idea of Calculus—The Fundamental Theorem of Calculus—Visualizing the Derivative—Abstracting the Derivative: Circles, Squares & Belts—Derivatives the Easy Way—Galileo, Newton & Baseball—The Best of All Possible Worlds: Optimization—Circles, Pyramids, Cones & Spheres—Archimedes & Onions—The Integral: A Process of Summing

PART II (12 lectures)

Abstracting the Integral: Areas, Volumes & Dams—The Fundamental Theorem at Work—Buffon's Needle: ? from Breadsticks—Zeno's Arrow?The Concept of Limit—Real Numbers & Predictability of the Continuous—Zeno, Calculators & Infinite Series—Mountain Slopes & Tangent Planes—Getting Off the Line: Motion in Space—Physics, Music & the Planets—Business & Economics: Getting Rich & Going Broke—Palpitations, Population, Perch & Pachyderms—Calculus Everywhere

SAVE UP TO $145!
OFFER GOOD UNTIL JUNE 29, 2002

No-Risk Money-Back Guarantee!

About Your Professor:

MICHAEL STARBIRD (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1974) is a Professor of Mathematics and a University Distinguished Teaching Professor at The University of Texas at Austin. He is deeply interested in bringing the intrigue and fascination of mathematics to those who are not necessarily mathematically oriented. The American Mathematical Monthly acclaimed his recent book, *The Heart of Mathematics: An Invitation To Effective Thinking*, co-authored with Edward B. Burger, as possibly the best math book—textbook or not—for non-mathematicians it had ever reviewed!

Shop securely on-line at:
www.teach12.com

To order, mail coupon below or call our toll-free number: (Please refer to Priority Code 13057)

1-800-TEACH-12 (1-800-832-2412) Fax: 703-378-3819

The Teaching Company
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, VA 20151-1232
www.teach12.com

Priority Code 13057

YES, send me ***Calculus Made Clear***—which consists of twenty-four 30-minute lectures (12 hours in all)—with complete lecture outlines and handsome storage cases.

☐ **Video $54.95*** (reg. price $199.95) **SAVE $145!**
* plus $10 shipping, handling, and guarantee / Virginia residents please add 4.5% sales tax.

☐ **Check or Money Order enclosed**

☐ **Charge my:** *(please check desired format)*

☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover/Novus ☐ American Express

Account Number

Signature Exp. Date

Name (please print)

Mailing Address

City/State/Zip

Phone *(If we have questions regarding your order)*

☐ **FREE CATALOG.** Please send me a free copy of your current catalog (no purchase necessary).

Offer Good Through: June 29, 2002

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

solicitor general successfully argued this position before the Supreme Court in *Bowsher* v. *Synar*." Reagan had the credibility to oppose part of a bill he signed because he laid out his opposition from the very beginning.

Bush could have done something similar with campaign finance. Instead, he signed it without comment, limiting his protest to the timing of his signature: early morning, when no one was looking. Although the bill certainly did not merit a Rose Garden ceremony, Bush's handling of it made him look petty, when he could have used a signing statement, as Reagan did with Gramm-Rudman, to express his serious doubts about parts of the bill.

Administration officials say they understand the criticism—they just don't agree with it. The veto talk, says one administration aide, is "born of frustration with watching Daschle tank everything." But the aide points to the success Bush had with veto threats on a homeland-security package and an earlier agricultural spending bill and says Republicans should go easy on what the aide calls the "you oughta, you oughta, you oughta" strategy. Some Republicans, the aide complains, are willing to tell the president he ought to veto this bill, or veto that bill, without doing the hard work to craft a bill that the president can sign. "One thing that would be helpful would be a plan of action that doesn't rely on a veto," the aide says.

Besides, Bush will veto something sooner or later, and probably this year. Sources in Congress and the administration point to coming appropriations bills that may push the president past his fiscal limit. There's also a veto possibility if Congress tries to keep alive the Crusader artillery system, which the secretary of defense, for one, wants scotched. Unlike spending bills, in which the president just doesn't have the street cred of a man who will fight for a tight budget, the Crusader could be Bush's kind of battle. "It's no longer a fight about the merits of the Crusader," says a Hill staffer. "It's a fight about the ability of the president, through his secretary of defense, to cancel a project." A Crusader veto, if it comes to that, would be a twofer for Bush—killing a program that the president believes is unnecessary and at the same time making his future veto threats all the more believable. Alexander Hamilton would understand. **NR**

■ **PUBLIC POLICY** ■

Encountering Turbulence

So how goes the federal takeover of airline security?

KATE O'BEIRNE

WHEN Congress hastily decided last November that the federal government would take responsibility for airline security, it was expected that 30,000 new federal workers would be needed to protect the flying public. Six months later that estimate has shot, well, sky-high. By February, the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) was outlining its need for 42,000 new federal screeners and supervisors. The figure then jumped to 68,000—but not for long. "A month ago, the number of employees had grown to 73,000, and we said, 'Whoa,'" says Republican congressman Hal Rogers of Kentucky, chairman of the appropriations subcommittee on transportation. The TSA plans to create a new law-enforcement agency—responsible for security in every kind of transportation—that is larger than the Departments of Energy, Labor, State, HUD, and Education combined.

"The minute they doubled the number of screeners, I felt vindicated," says Rep. John Shadegg, Republican of Arizona. Shadegg had joined a House majority in support of a plan that followed the Israeli and European model: a well-trained private-sector airport-security force under strict government oversight. But when the administration dropped its objection to a unanimously approved Senate bill that federalized the security force, GOP opposition in the House collapsed. Shadegg did vote against the final legislation, declaring, "If you think government employees can't make mistakes, you'll love this bill."

Recently, the CEO of American Airlines finally voiced publicly the industry's conviction that the new government security gurus are far from mistake-proof. In a Dallas speech to hundreds of airport executives—who repeatedly interrupted his remarks with enthusiastic applause—Don Carty labeled parts of the security-reform regime "both nuts and needlessly expensive. . . . It is not unpatriotic, and it shouldn't be taboo, to acknowledge that there will be no point to any of this if we don't reconcile tighter security with a level of convenience that is acceptable to our customers."

But fear remains about second-guessing the TSA's agenda. A senior appropriations aide explains that congressmen are willing to meet the TSA's sky-high spending demands because "if something bad happens," they dread being told that "Congress wouldn't give us the money we needed": "The degree of sensitivity on this stuff can't be overestimated."

The TSA has resolved to spare no expense in its race to meet congressional deadlines for a federal screening force. As a result, its budget request for this year has almost tripled—to $6.8 billion—in the past few months. When the House recently provided $4 billion for the agency, transportation secretary Norman Mineta promptly complained about being "short-changed" because he got only 90 percent of what he requested to cover the agency's plans for the remainder of the year. He warned senators that their constituents would experience long delays at the airport if the Senate didn't ante up.

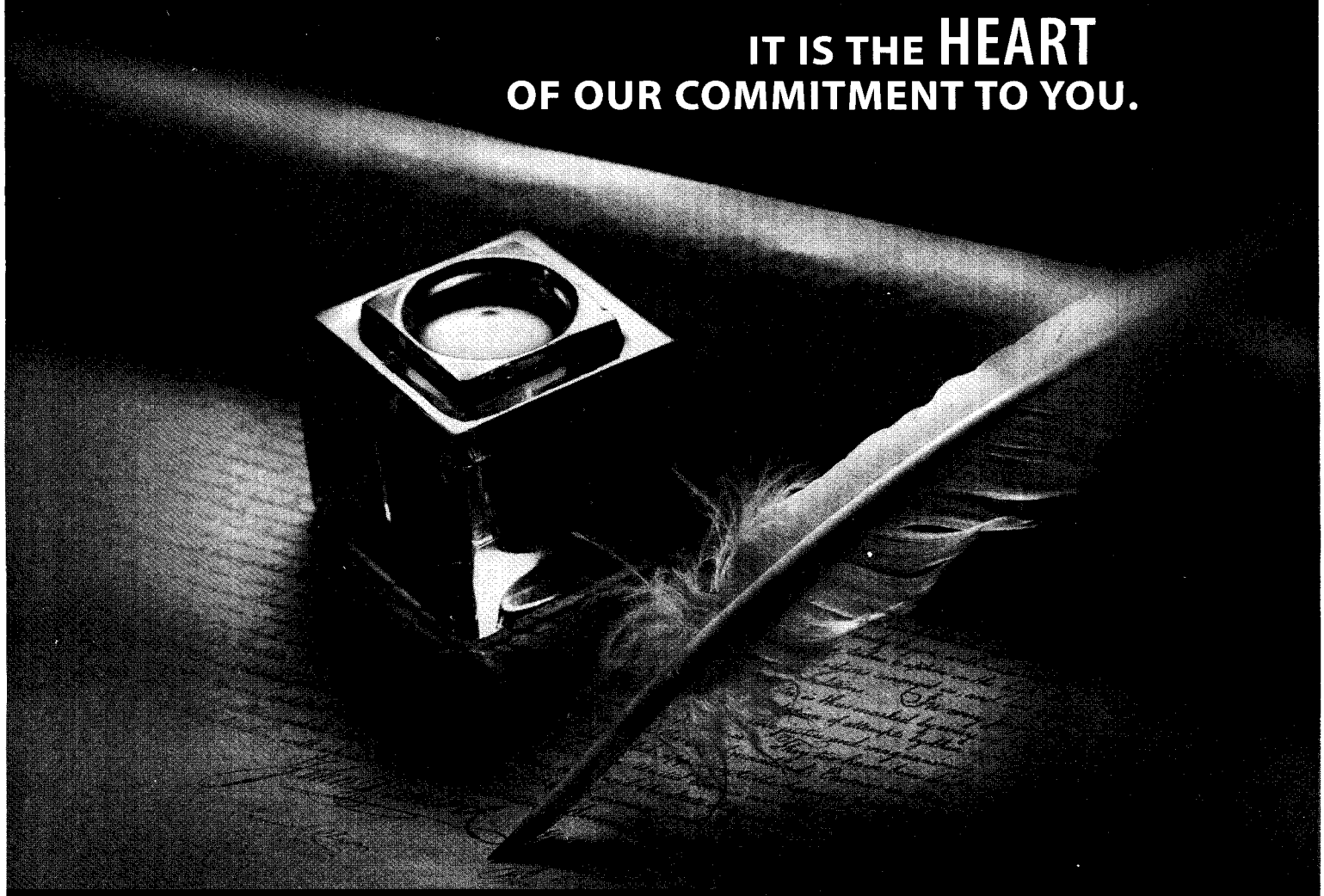
But a growing chorus of critics argues that airline passengers will face frustrating delays whether or not the TSA gets its money. A recent article in the *New York Times* travel section lambasted the present security system that treats all airline passengers as potential hijackers. A spokesman for the American Association of Airport Executives points out that either profiling or a "trusted traveler" option would "make the haystack smaller" in the search for that needle that poses a hijacking threat. Ethnic profiling, however, is a no-go for the Bush administration; and, according to a transportation-industry lobbyist, TSA chief John W. Magaw opposes permitting frequent fliers who undergo thorough background checks to avoid the TSA's "robust and redundant security."

All of this redundant security demands redundant staff. By November 19, the TSA must assume operational control of security at the nation's 429 commercial airports. The agency is busily hiring 429 Federal Security Directors (FSDs, with a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"TRUST" IS MORE THAN A PART OF OUR NAME.

IT IS THE HEART OF OUR COMMITMENT TO YOU.



Sometimes people dedicate money to charity only to see it go to causes they never envisioned. In fact, it's a problem common enough to have a name: the problem of donor intent.

We established DonorsTrust so you won't encounter that problem. When you give to charities through DonorsTrust, your contributions support only those organizations that promote liberty through limited government, personal responsibility, and free enterprise.

We don't expect you to give us your trust. We expect to earn it, and we do that by respecting your charitable intent. At DonorsTrust you're not a client. You're our partner in a common mission, and we pledge to honor your intent as long as your account exists—even beyond your lifetime.

There's more to charity than giving.

You'll find more than a trustworthy partner in DonorsTrust. We'll also help you:

- Maximize your tax deductions.
- Avoid capital gains taxes.
- Request disbursements at your leisure—without deadlines.
- Enjoy foundation-style services
- Realize your charitable intent.

For more details, visit our Web site or call us for a free informational brochure.

DonorsTrust
BUILDING A LEGACY OF LIBERTY

703.535.3563 | www.donorstrust.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

salary range of $105,000 to $150,000), most of them former military and law-enforcement officers. At the larger airports, FSDs will be supported by four assistant FSDs. FSD Area Directors will be based at TSA headquarters in Washington, along with about 900 other supervisors and staff. Airports will also enjoy the services of 900 new law-enforcement officers. In addition to over 25,000 screeners (armed with flier-friendly federal shoehorns) at initial checkpoints, the TSA plans to hire over 5,000 gate screeners for that second go-over. (Their uniforms will be adorned with the TSA's logo of nine stars and eleven bars, signifying September 11, and intended to make travelers "breathe a little easier.") All these new airport workers will need a place to hang their hats; airports are grousing about the demands being made for offices and screeners' break rooms.

Although airline studies have found that four screeners at each checkpoint is optimal, the TSA has adopted a prototype that calls for *seven* people—which, the airlines maintain, reduces throughput (the processing of passengers) without improving security.

Congressman Rogers complains that the FSA's total "overhead staff" amounts to about 3,600, and he has raised questions about the need for almost 50 percent of the new passenger-checkpoint positions the TSA is insisting on. He suggests that self-closing doors and surveillance cameras might replace 3,249 "exit-lane monitors," and that 1,405 federal customer-service representatives would be performing a function the airlines should assume. Rogers also points out that new magnetometer technology could replace thousands of the new federal workers, and has encouraged the agency to "put all machinery in place that you can before you hire people."

When the TSA is urged to "go slow"—and take advantage of forthcoming technology that could save billions of dollars—it can certainly retort that Congress has only itself to blame for the speedy pace of hiring. Early in the year, the Transportation Department's inspector general testified that the "cost of good security will be substantially greater than most had anticipated," and that "a significant cost-driver has been meeting [Congress's] December 31st deadline to screen 100 percent of checked baggage." He estimated that to meet the congressional demand for machine screening, TSA will need over 1,600 additional explosives-detection-system (EDS) machines, 4,500 more explosives-detective-trace (ETS) machines, and about 30,000 additional staff. The cost of integrating the machines into the airports is estimated at over $2 billion; TSA has allocated $350,000 per airport to help offset the cost of installing EDS machines. Dallas/Fort Worth airport estimates that it will have to spend $193 million to accommodate the 40 EDS machines, and others, that it needs.

Because there aren't enough of the truck-sized, million-dollar EDS machines that scan a bag's contents, TSA is encouraging airports to use a combination of EDS and ETS machines, although the latter are less reliable and demand thousands of screeners to open a large sample of suspect bags. The TSA hasn't yet approved a single airport's baggage-screening plan, and some airport executives have recently concluded that they simply can't meet the December 31 deadline. Congress's deadline was arbitrary, and clearly unmindful of the impracticality of the technology currently available. Experts predict that billions will be spent on "first-generation" machines—even as promising new technology is on the horizon. A lobbyist for a major airline explains that there is a growing realization in both Congress and the administration that TSA needs more time to think through the best use of resources, but that "no one wants to be the first to say so."

During a recent hearing before a House appropriations subcommittee, Congressman David Obey, Democrat of Wisconsin, angrily asked, "Does the [TSA] really take this committee to be a bunch of chumps, or do you simply expect we are going to supinely provide blank checks?" In the supplemental-appropriations bill, the committee responsible for allocating resources adopted the principle that the TSA should have "a 'pay as you go' philosophy, constraining its costs to the level of security air travelers are willing to pay for."

In response to passengers' complaints about concourse closings and screening delays, Transportation Secretary Mineta has taken to admonishing that "Patience is a new form of patriotism." So too, apparently, is indiscriminate spending. **NR**

■ **EUROPE** ■

The Over-Skeptics

With the Europeans, a little patience, a little craft

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

An early revue sketch, circa 1960, by the late Peter Cook had his famous crank, E. L. Whisty, sending prescient warning letters to various world leaders—but always a little late in the day. "What did I tell Winston in 1940?" he would ask his long-suffering wife. "Watch the Germans, I said. Keep your eye on that Hitler. A slippery customer if ever I saw one. Never got a reply, of course."

In the 2002 version of this sketch, I get to play Churchill. As the resident Euro-skeptic, who has been warning since 1989 of the rise of a rival European superpower, I find myself bombarded these days with philippics from television talk shows, radio phone-ins, op-eds, e-mail, bloggers, and even my NR colleagues, all stressing the same point: "Watch the Europeans. Keep your eye on that Chirac/Schroeder/Le Pen/Fortuyn. Allies? Huh. They're on the side of Saddam Hussein, and Yasser Arafat, and Osama. Well, neutral anyway. Wimps at the very least. And anti-American too. Screw 'em."

Some of the more extreme expressions of this argument rely heavily on misinformation: for instance, that only Americans fought in Afghanistan or the Balkans—when in fact the Brits, French, Canadians, etc. all served. Some deplore a revival of traditional "European" anti-Semitism even when the evidence for this consists of crimes by recent immigrants from North Africa or the Middle East. And others point to a genuine anti-Americanism in Europe, but either exaggerate its importance or ignore the degree to which it is actively fostered by U.S. policy.

But two articles—one by James W.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

You deserve a factual look at...

A Demilitarized Palestinian State

Should Israel, should the world, rely on it?

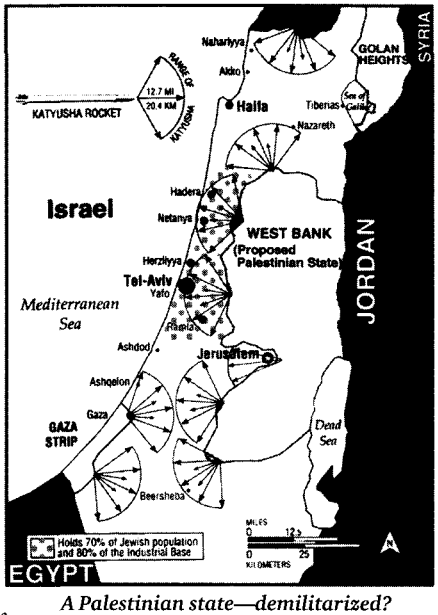
Even the most fervent advocates of a Palestinian state are virtually unanimous that such a state should be "demilitarized," since it might otherwise imperil, or perhaps even endanger, the very existence of Israel. "Demilitarization," it is believed, would obviate any military threat to the State of Israel.

What are the facts?

Israel threatened by enemies. Israel is a very small country. Including the Golan and the "West Bank," it is only one-half the size of San Bernardino County in California. Israel has been in a "cold peace" with Egypt since 1978 and has also concluded a peace treaty with Jordan. Other Arab states are still in a declared or undeclared state of war with Israel. Iran, Moslem though not Arab, is the most determined and deadly of them all. It lurks in the background, its foremost military and political objective being the destruction of the state of Israel.

The "Palestine Liberation Organization" (PLO), now transformed into the "Palestinian Authority" (PA), is a terror organization that has two immutable purposes, namely: to kill as many Jews as possible; and to demolish Israel, the Jewish State, and to replace it with "Palestine". And "Palestine" means "from the River to the Sea," as Arafat never ceases to explain to his followers. It is almost incredible that supposedly levelheaded and well-intentioned people would have entered into a "peace agreement" with such an organization.

Subsequent developments of course have proven the folly of it. The Palestinians have never kept a single one of the solemn promises they made when they signed on to the "Oslo Agreement"; specifically, they have never forsworn the clauses in their "covenant" that call for the destruction of Israel. They have utterly disregarded and violated the limitations imposed on the number of their "police" (army), the restrictions on armament, and, most importantly, the promise not to use violence in order to attain their political goals. Without any provocation, they launched their bloody "intifada," now well into its second year, equipped with heavy armaments smuggled into the territory (98% of the "West Bank" and Gaza) allotted to them by the goodwill of Israel. This armament would have been greatly enhanced had the Israelis not intercepted the KARINE A, a ship laden with over fifty tons of the most advanced weaponry.



A Palestinian state—demilitarized?

The myth of demilitarization. The assumption that "Palestine" would be demilitarized is not tenable. The Arab nations would not allow it, even if the Palestinians themselves so desired. Also, the Palestinian entity would have thousands of trained soldiers, camouflaged as police. They could be helicoptered in minutes to positions on the border with Israel, with armored forces from Syria reaching them within the same night. But such mobilization of the "demilitarized" Palestine wouldn't be required. The weapons of preference of Arab terrorists are the Soviet-made Katyushas, highly effective missiles, truck-mounted and mobile, ideal for hit-and-run raids against Israel. Israel could not prevent them from flooding Palestine. A look at the map makes clear that these rockets, short-range though they may be, would dominate the heartland of Israel. Easily moved and hidden along Israel's new eastern borders—to be increased from less than 40 miles in length to over 200 miles—these Katyushah rockets would rain destruction over most of Israel. They would cover in their entirety Israel's narrow waist that holds 70% of the Jewish population of the country, 80% of its industrial base, its only international airport, and its most important military installations.

A Palestinian state next door to an Israel that would only be nine miles wide at its vulnerable waist, and that could be cut in two by one thrust of a tank column, would leave Israel in constant mortal danger. The Palestinians have proven that they do not want peace -- they want to destroy Israel. Giving them an independent country, even against solemn promises of demilitarization, would ring the death knell for the Jewish State. Only fuzzy thinkers and incurable optimists can believe that an independent Palestine would become a peaceful neighbor of Israel. If Israel ceded the Gaza Strip -- the invasion route since before biblical times -- and Judea/Samaria (the "West Bank") to its sworn enemies, it would make the country indefensible and Israel would have laid the groundwork for its own destruction. Tanks, warplanes, and missiles would only be needed for the final mopping-up process. In the meantime, mortars and Katyushas located on the Judean ridges -- Israel's proposed new borders -- would suffice to paralyze life and industrial and military activity in Israel. One can only hope that ultimately Israel's leaders and the world -- even those who are well-intentioned and wish for Israel's survival -- will understand this danger and that they will not press Israel to make further concessions that will endanger its very existence.

This message has been published and paid for by

FLAME

Facts and Logic about the Middle East
P.O. Box 590359 ■ San Francisco, CA 94159
Gerardo Joffe, President

FLAME is a tax-exempt, non-profit educational 501(c)(3) organization. Its purpose is the research and publication of the facts regarding developments in the Middle East and exposing false propaganda that might harm the interests of the United States and its allies in that area of the world.Your tax-deductible contributions are welcome. They enable us to pursue these goals and to publish these messages in national newspapers and magazines. We have virtually no overhead. Almost all of our revenue pays for our educational work, for these clarifying messages, and for related direct mail.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ceaser in *The Weekly Standard* and another by Robert Kagan in *Policy Review*—have advanced a much more reasonable, balanced, and (if the word does not offend) "sophisticated" case that Europe and America are now set on seriously divergent paths in world politics. Their arguments cannot really be summarized without also being oversimplified, so read the original articles instead of trusting my summary. With that warning, however, let me suggest that their case rests on the following four points:

One. European integration is now essentially a fait accompli—and irreversible. A new post-national European order has been established.

Two. This new European order has been built on Kantian values of peace through international rules enforced on declining nation-states by international courts and other supra-national bodies.

Three. This puts Europe at serious odds with a U.S. that, as the sole superpower, must rely on its own national sovereignty, military force, and patriotism to maintain peace in the Hobbesian world outside Europe.

Four. This clash of fundamental values need not distress Americans, however, since the pacific nature of the new unified Europe negates any strategic threat it might otherwise have posed.

Both articles end on the same mildly optimistic note. Ceaser urges America to pay due regard to the opinions of its allies, but warns the allies that they cannot expect the right to veto U.S. actions; Kagan suggests that since the U.S. is the dominant force in any event, it would be wise to show a decent respect for the opinions of Europe, since both continents ultimately agree on seeking stability and prosperity for mankind.

That is certainly a more soothing message than "Screw 'em," but it does not seem to flow entirely logically from the prior analysis. And the prior analysis is itself open to criticism. Examine each of the above propositions in turn:

Proposition One. That European integration is an irreversible fact is not so much demonstrated as repeatedly asserted or assumed. Both authors refer throughout to "the Europeans" as if they were already the citizens of a single state and indeed have been so for some decades; yet national differences in political philosophy and strategic doctrine are deep-seated and persistent. Of course, the authors sometimes recognize this, Kagan conceding at one point that Britain is more "American" than other countries; but once this recognition has been granted, it is instantly forgotten and the argument proceeds as if it had never occurred.

Similarly, the authors write as if "integration" were a single thing, or an automatically logical progression from nation-statehood to federal collectivism, when it is in fact a portmanteau term that brings together quite distinct ideas. It is logically quite possible to believe in European free trade while resisting the establishment of a European army. No inconsistency is involved—indeed some such halfway house is probably the desire of at least a plurality of "Europeans."

The headlines establish daily that there is enormous political resistance to further European integration. Recent referenda have rejected membership in the euro (Denmark) and the Nice treaty on further integration (Ireland), and anti-integration parties have emerged from nowhere to win substantial representation in several countries. Even if some version of "integration" eventually succeeds, its final form could be anything from a near-unitary superstate to a confederation in which nation-states retain considerable independence. In short, the U.S. is faced not with a fait accompli of any kind, but with a plasticine political development still open to influence.

Proposition Two. At different points, the authors both accept and undermine the "myth" of "the Europeans" as a people who have outgrown nationalism and learned to live comfortably in a political space with overlapping international authorities and rules. They accept the myth as a description of present-day Europe, but they deconstruct it by pointing out that Europe's stability—including the peace between France and Germany—was built on the presence of the U.S. as a European power. Remove the U.S.—which is what both authors half-forecast and half-recommend—and there must be at least the threat that instability will return.

This threat is maximized by the fact that the EU has little democratic or patriotic legitimacy of its own to sustain peace and stability. Even its supporters concede the EU's "democratic deficit," and Ceaser allows that its post-national consensus rests very unsteadily on the elite's demonization of all national feeling as semi-fascist. Seeking to fill this vacuum, Chris Patten tells us that Europeans must develop a common patriotism to underpin their new institutions. But a common national sentiment is itself rooted in the perception of overriding common interests; as Noel Malcolm has pointed out, the notion of overriding common Finno-Portuguese interests is an absurdity.

Besides, what *really* holds the EU together is that it is a project of a post-national bureaucracy that seeks to transfer power from voters to bodies beyond democratic control. It is not "the Europeans" but their bureaucratic rulers who live in a post-Kantian world of rules, compromises, and accommodations.

Proposition Three. As Kagan concedes, each of the two contrasting strategic doctrines he describes—American superpower politics and the European preference for negotiations and compromise—has support on both sides of the Atlantic. But he understates the point: The "European" outlook is actually embraced by much of the U.S. foreign-policy establishment. Kagan assumes nonetheless that under the pressure of

LEGACY

WHAT WILL YOURS BE?

What will you bequeath to future generations? How will the ideals you cherish *now* be sustained *then*? Who will articulate your principles for the sake of your grandchildren, your faith, your community, and your country?

There is an answer.

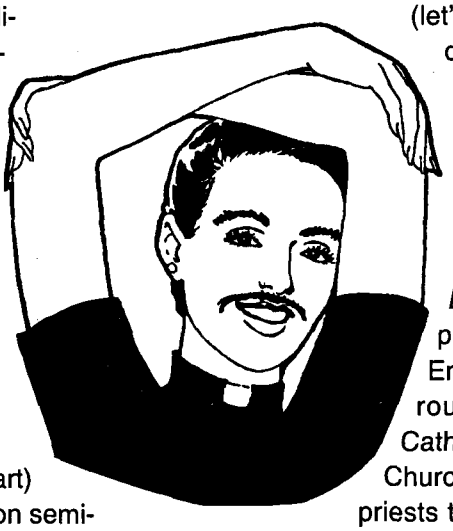
With your help, *National Review* will endure as a powerful voice, sustaining those beliefs you hold dear. Now. And for future generations. As ever, standing athwart history, yelling Stop.

To obtain more information about remembering *National Review* in your will or estate, please contact:
National Review, Legacy
Attn.: James Kilbridge
215 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10016
212-679-7330

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Real Men Don't Become Priests"

Could that be true? If so, Heaven help us! We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW have been hearing more and more that the priesthood is becoming a "gay profession" like hairdressing. We recently received a poignant letter from a seminarian, which we printed. Said he: "When I left my job as a teacher at a Catholic high school to enter our diocesan seminary, the typical reaction I received from my students was, 'You're going to be a priest? But you're *not* gay.' At the time I was shocked. It did not take me long, however, to realize that their notions were well founded. For many years we have heard about the shortage of priests, and there has been much talk on the subject of 'gay' seminarians and priests. It should be glaringly obvious that the latter has (at least in part) caused the former. Until the common seminary policy of not considering an applicant's sexual orientation (despite 10 hours of psychological testing, I was never even asked if I were 'gay') is rethought, our young men will continue to view the priesthood as an option that is not for normal males."



Then there are all the sex scandals. We don't have precise information, but our impression is that more often than not, a sex scandal involves same-sex transgressions. Clerical culture is all male. When that culture is attracting a highly disproportionate percentage of people who have same-sex attractions, you don't have to be a rocket scientist to figure out that there's going to be libidinal trouble in spades — that attraction will lead to temptation, then to giving in to temptation, and then to an entire subculture of homosexually-*active* priests who protect one another from scrutiny and lawsuits.

Yes, homosexually-oriented *celibate* priests who are orthodox and obedient to Church norms, who are splendid priests, do exist. But when they must function in a priestly culture that's electric with same-sex attractions, the temptations and (let's face it) the solicitations they must contend with will be daunting. It's no favor to them to make them function in such an environment.

And let no one think that allowing priests to marry would solve the problem. It would have no effect on homosexuals. *The Times of London* recently indicated that priests in the (Anglican) Church of England are dying of AIDS at a rate roughly 2 to 3 times greater than Catholic priests in the U.S. — and the Church of England has *always* allowed priests to marry! No, the problem isn't the celibacy requirement. The problem is a hideous breakdown in basic Christian faith and morality.

Actually, we have plenty of real men in the priesthood. But when the priesthood gets characterized as a "gay profession" and sex scandals are a common occurrence, unwarranted suspicion is cast upon all our good, hard-working priests. We've got a big problem.

You may have noticed that many Catholic publications and leaders don't want to face the serious problems in the Church. We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, an orthodox Catholic monthly magazine, don't sweep problems under the rug. We deal with them, and with *all the issues* of concern to loyal Catholics. Subscribe today and be part of the solution!

(Please allow 2 to 8 weeks for delivery of first issue.)

SPECIAL DISCOUNT RATES FOR FIRST-TIME SUBSCRIBERS

- ☐ One-year subscription ..... $14 (regularly $19)
- ☐ One-year student, unemployed, or retired person's subscription ..... $12 (regularly $16)
- ☐ Two-year subscription ..... $23 (regularly $35)
- ☐ One-year non-U.S. subscription ..... US$24 (regularly $29) Payment must be drawn in U.S. Dollars.
- ☐ Sample copy $3.50

➔ Our prices are *so low* because you can't pay by credit card and payment must accompany order. Send letter or this coupon with check payable to NEW OXFORD REVIEW.

Mail to:
NEW OXFORD REVIEW
Room 807
1069 Kains Ave.
Berkeley CA 94706

Name (Please print or type)

Street Address or P.O. Box

City State Zip

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

events, each continent will pursue its own characteristic doctrine more fully and consistently.

But this is far from certain. Each continent will influence the other in a permanent debate—and therein lies a danger. By his apparent willingness to abandon making the case for the "American" strategic doctrine in Europe's internal debates—indeed, by his implicit argument that the U.S. should shrug off its sympathizers in European politics and accept the development of a political culture in which the "American" view is seen as barbaric—Kagan risks tilting the balance toward the "European" point of view, on *both* continents.

Proposition Four. Kagan writes:

> Turning Europe into a global superpower capable of balancing the power of the United States may have been one of the original selling points of the European Union—an independent European foreign and defense policy was supposed to be one of the most important byproducts of European integration. But, in truth, the ambition for European "power" is something of an anachronism. It is an atavistic impulse, inconsistent with the ideals of postmodern Europe, whose very existence depends on the rejection of power politics. Whatever its architects may have intended, European integration has proved to be the enemy of European military power and, indeed, of an important European global role.

Surely, however, this is rather like observing a cute little lion cub playing in the grass and doubting that it could ever become a carnivorous beast red in tooth and claw. The history of the EU is one in which ambitious projects are attempted, fail, are attempted again, and are finally imposed by the bureaucrats on a reluctant continent. Kagan thinks that the fledgling European Rapid Reaction Force will never amount to much because current European defense budgets are declining. A different way of looking at the same facts, however, is that at a time when Europeans are cutting back their spending on the U.S.-led NATO, they are establishing an independent military capability.

It may be comforting to argue, as both authors do, that "the Europeans" will never develop that capability into a major military threat because of their pacific nature. But how reliable a safeguard is that? Remember the recent history of the single most important nation in the EU, namely Germany. Until 1870 the Germans were mainly Ruritanians, until 1919 Prussians, until 1933 decadents, until 1945 Nazis, until 1970 Americans, until 1989 neutralists, and since then good Europeans on the Kagan model. We cannot be sure that they and other Europeans will not someday undergo a personality change into a conventional superpower with its own interests and instruments to enforce them.

Indeed, a "realist" analysis predicts that a united European state would have little choice but to become a military power. If Europe and America were to pursue seriously divergent strategies based on radically different worldviews, they would encounter growing conflicts in their relationship. Over time Europeans would inevitably feel that they could not rely on the U.S. to protect their vital interests; as the four years of U.S. history after Pearl Harbor demonstrate, a wealthy and technically advanced power can become a military superpower in half a decade. Thus could Europe transform its modest ERRF into a powerful military establishment, divide the West, and usher in a multipolar world—all in a very short time.

■

Euro-integration is an American project, one the U.S. has supported right up to the present.

■

This is a serious—and avoidable—risk. Euro-integration is an American project, one the U.S. has supported at every stage right up to President George W. Bush's recent speech in Berlin. No one can quite predict the effects if the U.S. changes that policy. But there surely has to be a better strategy for a superpower threatened, however distantly, with the transformation of allies into a potent rival than the advice tendered by Kagan and Ceaser: "Relax and enjoy it." **NR**

■ **FOREIGN POLICY** ■

Their Men in Riyadh

Ex–U.S. ambassadors who stick with the Saudis

ROD DREHER

IT'S good to be the U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia—or, more precisely, it's good *to have been* Washington's man in Riyadh. No other posting pays such rich dividends once one has left it, provided one is willing to become a public and private advocate of Saudi interests.

The number of ex–U.S. ambassadors to Riyadh who now push a pro-Saudi line is startling. Walter L. Cutler runs the Meridian International Center, which has been heavily supported by the Saudis. Richard Murphy wields influence as a pro-Saudi voice at the Council on Foreign Relations. Chas W. Freeman Jr. now runs the robustly pro-Arab Middle East Policy Council, and heads a firm that sets up joint international business ventures. And lower-level diplomats with Riyadh experience on their résumés can be found throughout U.S. foreign-policy circles.

Prince Bandar, the colorful Saudi ambassador to the United States, makes no bones about how it works. The *Washington Post* has quoted Bandar as observing, "If the reputation . . . builds that the Saudis take care of friends when they leave office, you'd be surprised how much better friends you have who are just coming into office."

Not everyone feels all warm and fuzzy about this. "I think it's a disgrace," says Richard Perle, the former Reagan administration official. "They're the people who appear on television, they write op-ed pieces. The Saudis are a major source of the problem we face with terrorism. That would be far more obvious to people if it weren't for this community of former diplomats effectively working for this foreign government."

Hume Horan is a retired career diplo-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STORMING THE IVORY TOWER!

Discover the Ideas Your Professors Don't Want You to Hear!

Attend
Accuracy in Academia's

CONSERVATIVE UNIVERSITY

Washington, DC—July 18-21

Join like-minded men and women from around the country, as well as some of the brightest thinkers in America today, for this once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. The faculty of the Conservative University will provide free market and traditionalist perspectives on history, philosophy, law, the environment, government, and economics.

This informative program includes a session devoted to debunking myths within American history, a debate on the legacy of Abraham Lincoln, and an in-depth look at Friedrich Hayek's classic work of political thought, *The Road to Serfdom*.

Our distinguished faculty includes best-selling author Dinesh D'Souza, historian Burt Folsom, Accuracy in Media Chairman Reed Irvine, and more than twenty of the conservative movement's most enlightened writers, leaders, and scholars.

Tuition is $99 for students (under age 30) and covers lectures, housing, meals, and a free copy of *The Road to Serfdom*. Encounter the ideas your professors don't want you to hear at AIA's Conservative University.

"I learned more this weekend—truthful learning that is—than I did in four years of political science classes."

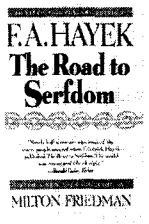
-C.U. Graduate

Call and Sign Up Today!

1-800-787-0429

To Register or Obtain Conference Information E-mail Sara Russo at Sara@academia.org

Fill out the form below and return to Accuracy in Academia



Registration Deadline: June 14—Tuition is only $99

Order with a credit card by phone – Visa, Master Card, AMEX ***or*** send personal check to: AIA, 4455 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 330, Washington D.C. 20008

Name _____ Phone _____

Address _____

School _____ E-mail _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____ Year of Graduation _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mat whose service includes two stints in Riyadh. He says, "There have been some people who really do go on the Saudi payroll, and they work as advisers and consultants. Prince Bandar is very good about massaging and promoting relationships like that. Money works wonders, and if you've got an awful lot of it, and a royal title—well, it's amusing to see how some Americans liquefy in front of a foreign potentate, just because he's called a prince."

An academic passion for sunny Araby hardly accounts for someone like Wyche Fowler, a former Democratic U.S. senator from Georgia who was dispatched as ambassador to Riyadh in President Clinton's second term. Fowler, a wily country boy who used to campaign on his rural background, seems to have had a good ol' time in King Fahd's court. "[The Saudis] are intelligent and quick," Fowler said in a recent interview, "and I enjoyed spending many hours drinking tea in the desert with them late into the night. They want to tell you about their family, and want to hear about yours. They would tell me a story about their father raising camels, and I would tell them one about my father raising cows."

When Fowler returned from Saudi Arabia, he landed several consulting contracts with international firms doing business in the region, and accepted the chairmanship of the Middle East Institute. This is a think-tank funded chiefly by Arab corporations and American corporations with significant business dealings in Arab countries. Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah is listed among a handful of "benefactors" on the institute's most recent donor list. And lately, Fowler has emerged as one of the most visible pro-Saudi spokesmen in the media. He has let fly with observations of the sort guaranteed to make Prince Bandar smile.

In an October 3 *NewsHour* appearance, Fowler was questioned about the Saudis' reluctance to let the U.S. military use its own bases in the kingdom for an attack on al-Qaeda and the Taliban. "Well, I think I can endorse that the cooperation by the Saudis with the United States could not be any closer," responded the ex-ambassador. Yet Fowler arrived in Riyadh immediately after the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, and he should know as well as anybody how the Saudis stonewalled U.S. investigators trying to figure out who killed all those American servicemen.

In a December 10 CNN appearance, Fowler contradicted Ken Adelman, the former arms-control official, who said that the Saudis' friendly face masks their funding of anti-American Islamic fundamentalism. "The Saudis have been very generous in their funding of Islamic causes and schools," replied Fowler, "but I'm afraid Mr. Adelman will not be able to produce any evidence of anti-American venom coming out of Islamic schools." This venom, of course, flows ceaselessly. In a later CNN appearance, Fowler said, "Whether or not you agree

Bosom ambassadors: Wyche Fowler and Prince Bandar, by Ismael Roldan

or disagree with the most conservative form of [Islam], Wahhabism, it does teach tolerance for Jews and Christians"—a newsflash, indeed.

Then there is the case of Patricia Roush, an American whose Saudi ex-husband kidnapped their two daughters in Chicago, and has been holding them in Saudi Arabia for the past 16 years. She blames Fowler's interest in maintaining good relations with the Saudi royals for the loss of her girls. Years of negotiations between American diplomats—particularly Amb. Ray Mabus—and the Saudis, she says, had brought her daughters to the brink of release. But then Mabus vacated the office for Fowler. "The deal was done," Mrs. Roush says, "but [Fowler] told my attorney in 1997 that it was dead, and I could either take a visit with [the girls], or let the chips fall where they may. [Fowler] was deeply in bed with the Saudis, and sold his soul to them. It's because of Fowler that this thing has gone on so long, allowing my oldest daughter, Alia, to be sold in an arranged marriage last June. She's now pregnant." (Fowler has been traveling in the Middle East recently. Attempts to reach him by telephone and e-mail through his Washington office were unsuccessful.)

Mrs. Roush intends to lambaste Fowler and some of his diplomatic predecessors in a June 12 hearing of the House Government Reform Oversight Committee, which is looking into Saudi treatment of American citizens living there. She and others believe it's time for Congress to investigate the role played by ex–U.S. ambassadors to Riyadh in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy, and whether that affects the performance of America's ambassador while in office.

The Middle East expert Daniel Pipes confirms that old Riyadh hands can exploit their contacts to make a small fortune as business consultants. "I don't know of any other posting that works so consistently for turning diplomats into middlemen," Pipes says. "It's very corrupting on ambassadors to Saudi Arabia, because they know what they're headed for, and they don't want to spoil it. It's hard to be confident that our diplomats are representing us."

Perhaps Washington should reconsider the kind of ambassadors it sends to Riyadh (the current ambassador, Robert Jordan, is a Texas corporate lawyer). Though career diplomats may be just as pro-Saudi in their post-diplomatic lives as the political appointees, there is something particularly risky about sending amateurs in to deal with the al-Saud family, who are flatterers nonpareil. Says Horan, "The great failing in nonprofessional diplomats is they think their job is to be liked."

Especially when the ambassador spends his time not keeping an eye on terror links, or trying to help fellow Americans abused by the Saudi system, but luxuriating in the desert drinking tea and talking about kinfolk with fellow livestock-lovin' rustics who happen to be—gol-lee!—royalty. "I made friends for life there," Fowler has said of Saudi Arabia. Exactly: That's the problem. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ ENERGY ■

Into Africa . . .

. . . and out of OPEC—new thinking on oil

RICHARD LOWRY

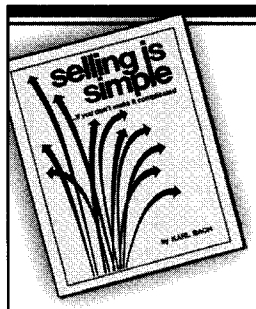
FOR decades, the U.S. has poured massive economic, military, and diplomatic resources into developing and securing oil from the Persian Gulf. This effort may have succeeded in guaranteeing (most of the time) affordable oil in the West, but that hasn't stopped the region from becoming an increasingly hostile cauldron of anti-American dictatorships. The U.S. would be well advised to begin diverting some of its attention to a different gulf—the Gulf of Guinea in West Africa, a region that doesn't attract the headlines of the Middle East or feature an influential cadre of diplomats, journalists, and experts devoted to the idea of its eternal importance, but that can still be a crucial piece of a new global U.S. energy strategy.

A lazy attachment to the global status quo shouldn't keep the U.S. from re-evaluating its fundamental energy assumptions, including the supposed indispensability of Saudi oil. Saudi Arabia will always be an important oil power, but that doesn't mean that its leverage can't be significantly reduced, including by a cluster of countries that many people would have trouble locating on a map. Toward that end, the U.S. should make the Gulf of Guinea a strategic priority, promoting free markets and the rule of law there, encouraging American investment, providing a security presence, and—perhaps above all—getting over a sneering tendency to dismiss the strategic significance of anything African.

After all, the Persian Gulf itself was a developmental backwater as recently as the 1960s, when few could imagine the importance it would attain over the next 30 years. The Gulf of Guinea is in a similar state today, a Third World afterthought primed to become a major market player. With the end of the Cold War, it has a greater openness to the market, making access easier for American companies. Meanwhile, technology unheard of 20 years ago has led to the rapid discovery and exploitation of new sources of oil there. These trends combine with several other features of the region to make West African oil a natural for the U.S.: Much of it is offshore, providing something of a buffer from political instability; it is easily delivered, via a quick jaunt across the Atlantic without straits or canals; and it is low in sulfur, providing the high gasoline yield preferred by U.S. refineries.

All these factors suggest that the West African market, stretching from the Ivory Coast down to Angola, is ready to bloom. Paul Michael Wihbey of the Institute for Advanced Strategic and Political Studies is a leading evangelist of West Africa's potential, and has created an African Oil Policy Initiative Group to try to wake up policymakers to the region's emerging importance. A soon-to-be released white paper reports, "At 1.5 million barrels per day, the amount of West African oil flowing to the United States approximates or exceeds the volume of U.S. imports from Saudi Arabia. Nigeria is the world's sixth-largest oil exporter and fifth-ranked provider of crude to the U.S. at over 900,000 b/d [barrels a day], while Angola, despite years of civil conflict, may produce close to one million b/d in 2002."

Potential is almost everywhere in the region, even in the smaller nations. Until recently, no one would have mentioned Equatorial Guinea and oil in the same breath, but this country may soon be producing as much oil per capita as Saudi Arabia. The tiny island nation of São Tomé and Príncipe is now believed to be sitting on reserves of 4 billion barrels of oil. A Chad–Cameroon pipeline will be pumping 250,000 barrels a day next year, and will actually be too small for potential volume. According to a U.S. National Intelligence Council estimate, 25 percent of American oil will be



The most important book about salesmanship ever written ...

Selling is Simple...
by Karl Bach only $19.95*

**But read this ad for an even better deal!*

Karl Bach was a penniless and uneducated German-Jewish immigrant. He spoke very little English and, to top it off, he had a physical impediment. Not being able to get any other job, he enlisted as a Fuller Brush salesman. Within two months, he became the most productive salesman Fuller had ever had. From a standing start, he had developed irresistible sales techniques. He applied those methods and insights to the life insurance business. Within three years, he became one of the most successful life insurance producers in the US. He founded and became principal owner of the San Francisco Life Insurance Company, which eventually merged with the Philadelphia Life Insurance Company. He became a very, very wealthy man. In this book, Karl reveals his enormously successful salesmanship methods.

If you are in any area of selling, you should be able to at least quadruple your performance by reading this groundbreaking book and following its precepts. There is no reason why you shouldn't be as successful as Karl Bach -- you have so much more going for yourself than he did. We are the publishers of this book and can offer it for only **$19.95**. ***But we have an even better deal:** ***Buy two books for $39.90 and we will send you a third one, with our compliments -- absolutely*** **FREE!** If you are in any area of sales and want to multiply your performance and your income, you owe it to yourself to buy this book. You and your family will be glad you did. Order it today!

Order directly from the publisher by toll-free phone (800) 600-2777, by fax (415) 356-7804, or by mail. Mention order code 1094Y303 and give Visa/MC # and expiration date, or send check for $19.95. Add $4.95 shipping/insurance, plus sales tax for CA delivery. 30 days refund/return, except for shipping/insurance.

advance books
division of jomira/advance
470 Third St., #211, San Francisco, CA 94107

Order by toll-free phone: (800) 600-2777 or (fastest!) by fax: (415) 356-7804
Visit our website at www.haverhills.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

imported from sub-Saharan Africa by 2015.

As Wihbey points out, if you want evidence of the strategic importance of West Africa, look no further than Chinese president Jiang Zemin's recent itinerary. In April, he visited Nigeria, bearing promises of trade, aid, and development projects. China has demonstrated the wherewithal to deliver on promises in the region: Three years ago, it completed a 1,500-kilometer pipeline in Sudan in almost record time. China may be pursuing strategic influence in West Africa as a way to cushion itself from the sort of dependency on Persian Gulf oil that is typical of East Asia.

The Jiang visit begs for a countersignal of high-level American interest. The U.S. eventually should declare the area a vital American national interest, perhaps as a prelude to creating a subregional command (on the model of Korea) with its home port in São Tomé and Príncipe, smack in the middle of the Gulf of Guinea. Such a declaration would heighten the prestige and authority of leaders in the region, most importantly President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria. Indeed, the key to a West African initiative will be Nigeria, the largest and most prestigious country in the region.

Nigeria has only recently begun to emerge from a corrupt dictatorship that left the country bankrupt. But there are stirrings of revival. For instance, Obasanjo will hold the country's first successive democratic elections next year. The same way the IMF has created incentives for political and economic reforms in Turkey, the U.S. should hold out the carrot of a steadily deeper and more meaningful U.S-Nigerian partnership as the country liberalizes.

The model to avoid is the Persian Gulf, where Western oil companies reaped huge profits but became complicit in the despotism and corruption of the area's regimes. West Africa needs a dose of benign paternalism. The debts carried by countries in the region should be relieved, but only if the governments meet certain benchmarks of reform. The U.S. African Growth and Opportunity Act, which lifted American tariffs on African goods, should be expanded, and U.S. companies should be encouraged to form partnerships with non-governmental organizations to promote good governance.

The key word in all this is "possibility." Sub-Saharan African production, now at almost 4 million barrels, could double to 8 million by 2006 (the Saudis are pumping 8 million now). If that seems optimistic, consider: Production in the Gulf of Mexico was tailing off in the late 1970s, but now is at an all-time high of roughly 2 million barrels a day; the North Sea was producing about 1 million barrels a day in 1977, but now is up to roughly 6 million barrels a day; Russia two years ago was dismissed as a basketcase, but is now producing 7 million barrels—without the benefit of much Western capital.

As new sources of oil become available—including massive heavy-oil deposits in Canada and Venezuela that were considered useless before the advent of new technologies and that dwarf Saudi reserves—the Persian Gulf begins to look less important. Saudi Arabia's greatest asset, its reserves in the ground, becomes a depreciating one, as supplies steadily increase and prices drop. This means the U.S. is beginning to have the whip hand in dealing with the Saudis, if only the national-security establishment could break with its decades-old assumptions about a world energy market dominated by the Persian Gulf.

OPEC served Washington well during the Cold War, as we used the Saudis to keep down the price of oil as a way of starving the Soviets of revenue. But the cartel should be scheduled for the ash heap just like the ABM treaty. The new U.S.-Russian entente is the first big step toward that post-OPEC world. Paul Michael Wihbey imagines OPEC's gradually being supplanted by a new oil bloc centered on the Atlantic (60 percent of U.S. oil now comes from countries bordering the Atlantic), with Russia as an important fellow traveler. West Africa is a natural part of this grouping, as off-shore Brazil and off-shore West Africa are part of the same geological basin. Eventually, the U.S. could create an Atlantic free-trade bloc in which the demand for energy is met in a self-contained area.

Who knows? Some day, President Bush might stop inviting Saudi royals to lecture him at his Crawford ranch, and relax with the likes of President Olusegun Obasanjo instead. He might make more pleasant company. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH** ■

Ozzy Without Harriet

What *The Osbournes* tells us about drugs

JONAH GOLDBERG

TOWARD the end of the Clinton administration, pundits got themselves into a tizzy over the fact that the U.S. government was giving what amounted to tax write-offs to television networks for incorporating anti-drug messages into their programming. The policy died at the hands of the hypocritical media establishment, which has no problem with the government forcing tobacco companies to fund multimillion-dollar ad campaigns against their own legal products, but sees, in the words of the *New York Times*, "the possibility of censorship and state-sponsored propaganda" in an anti-drug scene in a drama about an *emergency room*.

Such absurdity only highlights the bizarre state of the drug war. Whether

Ozzy Osbourne by Roman Genn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you are for or against drug legalization, it's impossible to dispute that the public debate is deadlocked. On one side, zero-tolerance drug warriors like drug czar John P. Walters insist that even marijuana is a "pernicious" drug closely associated with violence, addiction, and death. On the other side is a fractious coalition including drug boosters, libertarians, conservatives, and people who have simply had enough of the drug war's excesses. It's difficult to see how this impasse can be broken.

One man may have shown us the way: Ozzy Osbourne.

The Osbournes, the reality-TV show about the 53-year-old former lead singer of the metal band Black Sabbath and his dysfunctional family, is an unprecedented hit. It receives the highest ratings in MTV's history. More people watch it than *Meet the Press* or *The Sopranos*.

If the policy of tax write-offs for anti-drug messages were still in effect, MTV would be in the black for the year thanks to *The Osbournes*. Never in history has television delivered such a relentlessly compelling anti-drug message week after week. Ozzy, who spent much of his life on drugs and alcohol, is a complete and total mess. Without changing a single thing about himself, he could ease into the crowds of homeless wastoids on any Skid Row in America and ask passersby for a quarter. He can barely speak. Virtually every sentence comes out of him as if he'd been shot up with Novocaine. Indeed, he's so unintelligible that various reviews of the show quote the same lines of Osbourne's dialogue differently; not even journalists with a videotape can quite make out what the hell he's saying.

The Osbourne house, a stunningly beautiful manse in Beverly Hills, is a train wreck. With six dogs, a few cats, and a steady traffic of his kids' ne'er-do-well friends, Ozzy's life is near-total chaos. An entire episode of *The Osbournes* was dedicated to the family's collective inability to housetrain its dogs: The house is drenched in dog urine, and the Persian rugs are minefields of canine droppings.

Ozzy and his wife Sharon are only moderately more successful in housetraining the plump, self-absorbed kids, who, like Dad, can't go a sentence without cussing (and thus getting bleeped, by MTV). Only two of the three Osbourne kids, Kelly and Jack, appear on camera. The oldest daughter is reportedly mortified and is living in the guesthouse for the duration of the series.

It's not hard to see why. All teenagers are embarrassed about their parents at some point, but *The Osbournes* takes it to the limit: When Kelly sees her mom urinating in a bottle to send a message about drinking in the house, she screams: "She's pissing in the bottle . . . just like she s**t in Dad's bag of weed in Hawaii."

■

Never in history has television delivered such a relentlessly compelling anti-drug message week after week.

■

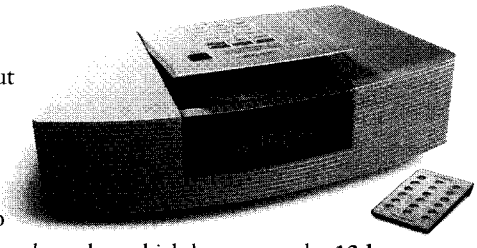
To be sure, part of the appeal of the show is how much it exaggerates the run-of-the-mill conflicts in normal families. Dad tries to lay down the law and the world ignores him. "I feel like I'm invisible here," he complains over breakfast, to which his wife replies, "Oh, shut up!" Osbourne loves his kids unconditionally but finds them incomprehensible. "I love you all," he tells his son. "I love you more than life itself, but you're all [bleeping] mad." Ozzy can't even figure out the remote control. "What the [bleep] am I doing? Can't get this [bleeping] television to work! I'm [bleeping] stuck on the Weather Channel!" Panicked, he yells, "I press this one button and the [bleeping] shower starts. Where the [bleep] am I? It's a [bleeping] nightmare! Nightmare in Beverly Hills!"

Ultimately, the man who famously bit the head off a live bat and urinated on the Alamo just wants a normal, peaceful life, but he's at a loss about how to get one. When the neighbors make too much noise, his wife chucks a rotten ham into their yard and Ozzy follows suit with a log. Afterwards, Mr. and Mrs. Osbourne wax nostalgic about their former (and favorite) neighbor, Pat Boone. "He was just the best person ever to live next door to," says the Missus. "He was such a lovely man."

But the reason the show has such a car-

HEAR THE RADIO THAT WOKE UP AN ENTIRE INDUSTRY.

The sound of most tabletop music systems leaves much to be desired. But now the rich-sounding Bose® Wave® radio/CD changes all that.



We think it's the best-sounding music system you can buy, and audio critics agree. Like *Stereo Review's Sound & Vision* which says, "I'm not aware of anything else quite like it at any price."

The Wave® radio/CD fits almost anywhere and is available directly from Bose, the most respected name in sound. Call today to learn more about our satisfaction guarantee and risk-free in-home trial. Ask about our payment plan which lets you make **12 low interest-free monthly payments.*** Order before June 30, 2002 and receive a free Bose CD carrying case that holds 24 CDs.

Call today, 1-800-836-6754, ext. T8977.
For information on all our products: **www.bose.com/t8977**

BOSE®
Better sound through research®

©2002 Bose Corporation. Patent rights issued and/or pending. The Wave® radio design is also a registered trademark of Bose Corporation. *Installment payment plan and free CD case offer not to be combined with any other offer or applied to previous purchases. Payment plan available on credit card orders only and subject to change without notice. Quote: Brian C. Fenton, *Stereo Review's Sound & Vision*, 7/99.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toonish hilarity to it (more than a few commentators have called it a real-world *Simpsons*) is that Osbourne is such a physical and psychological mess. During a recent interview for the British magazine *Loaded*, Osbourne was asked about reports that he'd broken his leg recently but didn't notice. "The truth of the matter is," Osbourne replied, "I'm f***ing crazy. Seriously. I'm mentally unbalanced. I've done so many drugs that I've f***ed up my brain somewhere." Asked if he feels lucky to be alive, Osbourne replied, "Lucky? Well, I ain't f***ing clever, that's for sure. Everybody says: 'Ozzy, you're a legend.' But behind the façade is a sad, lonely, wet fart of a person."

This comes through in every episode: His debauchery makes him pathetic, though endearingly so. "I don't think his fans have any illusions," Doc Coyle, lead guitarist of the metal band God Forbid, explained to the *New York Times*. "Everybody knows his brain is fried." In a sense, MTV is paying some small penance for the damage it has done to the culture. For years the network glorified the rocker lifestyle without paying much heed to its consequences. For example, Madonna's sluttiness was celebrated as if there were no downside to it.

WHAT THEY'RE SAYING ABOUT

NRO nationalreview ONLINE

"What the Web allows me to do is stay on top of what the other side is doing. If you see something on the NATIONAL REVIEW website, you know you're going to hear it on the floor of the Senate, press releases from the House [Republican] leadership, and Fox [News]."

—Anita Dunn, Partner,
Democratic media consulting firm
Squier Knapp Dunn, and adviser to
Senate Majority Leader
Tom Daschle

www.nationalreview.com

While the lady has the financial resources to compensate for her lifestyle (she brags, for instance, that she's never changed her children's diapers), no amount of money can unscramble your brain. Ozzy may be a sympathetic figure, but even a would-be rock star would hesitate to be in his shoes.

But while Ozzy is a useful cautionary tale against drug abuse, the success of *The Osbournes* should also teach a thing or two to the drug warriors. Drugs, like it or not, are part of the culture; law enforcement alone is inadequate to either their regulation or their eradication. Yes, cigarette smoking is on the wane, in part because of some draconian measures taken by an overzealous government. But smoking's real defeat has come at the hands of a cultural transformation. Similarly, laughing at, and hence ridiculing, drug use is far more useful than one more Eliot Ness lecture about, say, the connection of pot to the war on terrorism.

The same lesson was on view in last summer's surprise hit song, "Because I Got High," by a fellow named Afroman. The whole song was a hilarious send-up of pot-heads: "I was gonna go to court before I got high, I was gonna pay my child support but then I got high, they took my whole paycheck and I know why—'cause I got high, 'cause I got high, 'cause I got high. . . . I messed up my entire life because I got high, I lost my kids and wife because I got high, now I'm sleeping on the sidewalk and I know why—'cause I got high, 'cause I got high."

Unfortunately, some folks who think drugs are never a laughing matter didn't think the song was so funny. When MTV initially refused to show the song's video, because it depicted people smoking marijuana, *The Weekly Standard*—a zealous supporter of John Walters—noted in an earnest finger-wag: "It's a pity that the most humorous pop song in recent years is about getting high, but [we are] pleased to find MTV for once on the right side of the culture war."

Actually, it was great news that the most humorous pop song in recent memory was about how stupid it is to get high, or at least too high. Similarly, it's even better news that the most popular show in MTV history makes fun of drug use and, finally, puts MTV on the right side of the culture war. **NR**

■ **CULTURE WATCH II** ■

A New Wrinkle

The mad craze for Botox

ROB LONG

THE *Academy Players Directory* is a huge, multi-volume set of soft-backed books, each containing hundreds of small, passport-size head shots of pretty much every working actor in the film and television business. If you're an actor and you've ever had even the tiniest role, you're in the *Academy Players Directory*.

The books are organized along the most rigid principles. For women, there are the "younger leading woman," "leading woman," "older leading woman," "ingénue," and "comic" sections. For men, roughly the same. Children get their own special volume. And because the directory is used by casting directors, the effect of all of those little head shots staring out at you is pretty much that of going to the local pound to pick out a dog. The "older leading" male dogs give smoldering, James Bond-ish looks into the camera, while the "older leading" female dogs try the slightly rueful half-smile. The "younger leading" dogs of both sexes pout dramatically or smile with such vitality and desperation that you want to take them all home, give them water and treats, and take them to the vet for shots and neutering.

Ironically, it's the comic section that's the saddest. These are the mutts—the droopy-eyed types with weight problems and lips that curl down instead of up. The comic actor and actress sections of *Academy Players* are a checkerboard of what casting directors euphemize as "interesting looks": too fat, too skinny, no hair, too much hair—and always, male or female, squinty lines around the eyes and a forehead striated with wrinkles. Comic actors laugh, you see, so it's only natural that they have laugh lines.

In real life, though, no one wants to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

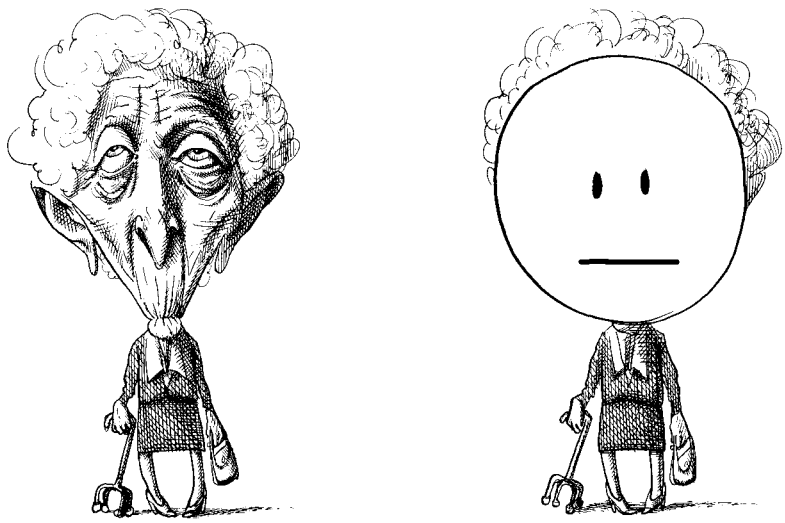
be in the "comic" section. No one wants to star in the comedy version of his life. We don't want to be thought of as having an "interesting look" by our loved ones and co-workers. We all want to be in the "younger leading" section of the *Academy Players Directory*. Some of us may not be able to pull off the "younger" part, but, given the choice, we'd all rather smolder sexily or smile seductively than put on a funny face and slip on a banana peel.

Now, of course, we have a choice.

The newly saucer-eyed Greta Van Susteren, when making the trip from CNN to Fox News, made a brief stop at the plastic surgeon's for an eye-tuck and a general face tightening. She reported to work not looking like the old, sleepy-faced Greta with the wrinkly eyes and the lazy mouth, but as something and someone else—the "leading woman" version of her old face. She had "a little work done," as the kids say. She took a lot of grief for it—and, truthfully, she ended up looking pretty weird—but it's not like she's the only one. Anyone who has looked on the shiny, strangely embalmed face of Al Pacino recently knows that there is such a thing as "too much work," and don't get me started on Mary Tyler Moore.

But these are people in the public eye. They look at themselves in photographs (and the mirror, let's be honest) pretty much all the time. It's probably an occupational hazard. They spend so much time scrutinizing the individual parts of their bodies—the eyes, the forehead, the flabby arms—that it's only natural that they would eventually lose sight of the whole package—the way the nose sits on the head, the way the eyes crinkle expressively, the way the mouth seems to relax into a grin—and instead try to clip that nose shorter, stretch those eye-wrinkles tighter, and trim that mouth into a more rounded curve. The results look less like younger leading versions of their old comic selves and more like computer-animated versions of their old comic selves.

All of this cutting and pasting is expensive, and that, until recently, has kept most of us from turning ourselves into "younger leading" faces. A few years ago, if you saw some bug-eyed, fish-mouthed character walking down the street, well, you knew they were doing okay in the money department. But recent developments in personal image enhancement have put all of this within reach.



Before and after Botox, by Roman Genn

I'm talking about Botox, which, of course, is the newest form of non-surgical make-me-look-younger face-fixing. It's pretty simple: The doctor injects a small amount of liquid in which is suspended a tiny, non-lethal amount of botulinum toxin—that's botulism, to those of us who are sticklers for this kind of thing—and the toxin deadens and paralyzes the tiny muscles around the eyes and face that create wrinkles. Shortly after injection, the wrinkles relax and disappear, leaving a smooth, young-looking young leading face.

The only trouble—if you can call it that—is that the tiny facial muscles are paralyzed for six months or so, at which time the toxin wears off, and you're back to the tiresome and exhausting process of brow-furrowing when perplexed, eye-crinkling when laughing, and, in general, expressing on the face what's in the heart, or mind. Take a quick trip back to Dr. New Porsche Every Few Months, MD, FACS, however, and you're back to numbed normal, for another six months.

It's a strange experience to be in a conversation with a person who has Botoxed herself. (It's still mostly women who do this, but that's changing.) She may talk about how "thrilled" she was to be promoted to executive vice president, or how "adorable" she thought the recent school play was, in which her daughter starred as Tinkerbell, or even how "moved" she was by the *New York Times* series on the victims of September 11, but you'd never know it by her face, which remains a placid, undisturbed sea. She can't actually express those feelings on her face. We just have to take her word for it. It's a strange attitude, really: After years and years of being told to "get in touch with your feelings" and "express your healthy anger" and not "keep it all inside," women are lining up to do the opposite. The old proto-feminist movie *The Stepford Wives*, in which troublesome, independent housewives in a Connecticut suburb were replaced by compliant, cheerful robots, clearly needs a remake. These days, sisters are doin' it for themselves.

The problem, obviously, is that you never quite take someone seriously who isn't showing something on the face.

Because Botox is cheap—or at least a lot cheaper and easier than surgery—it's performed in the most out of out-patient venues. There are Botox parties and Botox gift certificates and Botox booths at charity events. Since the injection only lasts a few months, there's a natural inclination to try it—no real harm done, just a little botulinum toxin—and see if you like it. Again, however, it's odd, when you think about the past 30 years: the personal-growth movement, the self-help books, the anti-depressants, the fitness craze, the heath-food obsession, the self-esteem industry. Now we're spending all this time and money trying to wipe the smiles off our faces. Smiles, I guess, are for comics. And we know what section of the book *they're* in. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ COVER STORY ■

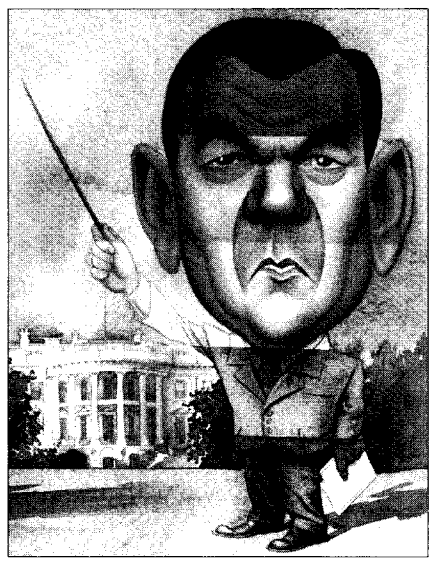
The Impossible Position of Tom Ridge

Director of homeland security—or something

JOHN J. MILLER

In his speech to Congress last September, President Bush announced a little hard news: the "creation of a cabinet-level position, reporting directly to me"—that of homeland-security director. And the man to fill it? "A distinguished American," Pennsylvania governor Tom Ridge.

No assistant to the president had ever been introduced with such fanfare. Ridge would be the man in charge of doing what was possible to prevent another calamity. He wouldn't vanish into the federal bureaucracy, either; he would become a reassuring figure, soothing public fears. "We want to brand Tom Ridge," an unnamed White House official told the *Washington Post*. "When people see him, we want them to think, 'My babies are safe.'"



In the months since, Ridge has indeed become branded: as the ineffective director of a young office without a clear mission. That is the growing consensus, although Ridge himself shouldn't be blamed. As ex–CIA director James Woolsey says, "They've given him lots of responsibility and damn little authority." About four dozen federal agencies have a role to play in homeland security, from the Department of Defense to the Centers for Disease Control. Ridge doesn't have the ability to order any of them to do anything. "Other agencies can write checks and put people in the field," notes security expert Neil C. Livingstone of GlobalOptions—but Ridge has no one to command.

That would change if he were put in charge of a federal department, the first since Ronald Reagan christened the Department of Veterans Affairs in 1988. On May 22, the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee, chaired by Joe Lieberman, approved a bill that would create a Department of National Homeland Security. Still, this is a lousy idea, grounded in the politics of gesture. It says, We care about homeland security *so much*, we're going to give Tom Ridge a big new bureaucracy to call his own.

The Bush administration opposes this, at least most of the time. Their line is that Ridge should remain one of the few "cabinet-level" officials who don't sit atop a federal department—he should be more like Condoleezza Rice, the national security adviser (who doesn't have cabinet rank, by the way). Rice's job has half a century of tradition behind it—people understand her role as a grand policy coordinator who balances the competing interests that exist within any administration. Ridge's position is much less defined.

Many Republicans would like to join Lieberman in giving it more definition. "I'd say we have about 20 members who wouldn't mind seeing Ridge get a department," says a top GOP Senate aide. "They're supporting the White House on this, but they're also worried the rug will be pulled from under them at some point"—meaning they think the administration may change its mind, and accede to a department. In April, they note, Mitch Daniels of the Office of Management and Budget didn't rule out making homeland security the responsibility of a new department. These Republicans are saying that any big decisions should wait until July, when Ridge is scheduled to issue a national strategy for homeland security.

GOV. HOMELAND SECURITY

There's a case to be made that Ridge isn't the best man for the job. A year ago, he didn't know much of anything about al-Qaeda, anthrax spores, or infrastructure vulnerability. What he did have was a close relationship with Bush, who'd considered selecting Ridge as his running mate, and a reputation for executive competence. Management ability is nothing to sniff at, but Ridge's résumé is strikingly different from that of his supposed counterpart, Rice—he is a longtime politician, and she's an expert in her field who didn't need any crash courses or on-the-job training.

Yet even if Ridge had known exactly what to do on the day he showed up for work, he would never have been able to do more than advise and persuade. This has severe limits. Consider a Ridge proposal floated in January to put all federal jobs dealing with the border under a single agency. This would have involved combining the Border Patrol, the Coast Guard, and the Customs Service, plus a few smaller outfits. It wasn't a new idea, but it was a worthy one, given some of the petty rivalries and turf fights that have erupted between these bureaucracies. To have made it happen, however, Ridge would have had to yank large chunks of personnel away from the Departments of Justice, Transportation, and Treasury.

In making the case, all Ridge had on his side was access to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the president and an argument, which had to be balanced against a bunch of department heads who also had access to the president and their own arguments about why things should remain the same. Not only are John Ashcroft, Norman Mineta, and Paul O'Neill unlikely to surrender any part of their own territories, so are their patrons and overseers on Capitol Hill. Committee chairmen want to forfeit influence about as much as any department secretary does; by one count, there are 19 committees and 48 subcommittees in Congress with jurisdiction over some piece of "homeland security." Ridge's border proposal was discussed and dismissed in a matter of days.

There's an easy way to give Ridge more clout: Hand him money, and the ability to make independent decisions about how it's used. This would provide Ridge with the opportunity to shape homeland security at all levels of government. Yet the White House has tried to steer clear of this path; a top staffer on the House Appropriations Committee says that Bush himself asked chairman Bill Thomas not to let Ridge have any cash because that would put the homeland-security director in a position where he would have to testify before Congress—something the administration appears ready to fight at almost any cost.

One White House aide says this isn't true, but the controversy over Ridge's testimony is clearly a major hang-up. In one respect, it's a traditional tug-of-war between the executive and legislative branches. There may be an important principle at stake here, as the Bush administration insists: If an assistant to the president like Ridge can be made to testify, then so can anybody on Bush's staff. At the same time, it seems reasonable that a person of Ridge's stature and job description should be able to sit before a panel of senators and answer their questions about the billions of new dollars being poured into the homeland-security effort.

Ridge already has done some of this—privately, in scores of meetings with members of Congress. Because of this, some Republicans worry that the Democrats are interested in something other than an honest exchange: They may desire a show trial in which Ridge would serve as a proxy for Bush. Democrats could pick apart the administration's actions on homeland security and lay the public predicate for presidential malfeasance in the event of another terrorist attack. One reason they weren't able to capitalize on the news that Bush had been warned last summer of possible hijackings is that they hadn't been doing any warning themselves. If they haul Ridge up to the Hill and start hectoring him about bridge safety, they'll be better positioned to reap a political reward if something goes wrong on his watch.

STUCK ON YELLOW

One thing is certain: Ridge doesn't have any budget authority, so his efforts to affect homeland security have been done on the cheap. They also haven't worked. On May 21, Ridge admitted that "some questions remain about the effectiveness" of the color-coded Homeland Security Advisory System he had introduced two months earlier. This is a massive understatement. Ridge's warning lights are meant to reflect the terrorist threat, but instead they are cause for con-

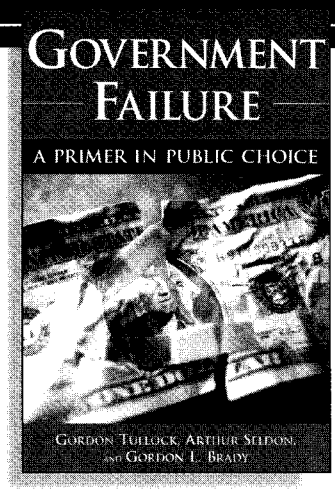
■

One thing is certain: Ridge doesn't have any budget authority, so his efforts to affect homeland security have been done on the cheap.

■

fusion and a staple joke on late-night television. Ever since they were turned on, the United States has been on a yellow light representing an "elevated" or "significant" risk of terrorist attack. The public is supposed to distinguish this from an orange light (a "high" risk of attack) and a red one (a "severe" risk). There's also a green light for a low risk of attack and a blue one for a "general" risk. (Quips Chuck Peña of the Cato Institute, "If we ever go to green, it will be a clear signal for the terrorists to strike.") Oddly, the alert system remained on yellow even after Vice President Cheney issued

Government Earns an F in Econ 101



Government Failure: A Primer in Public Choice
Gordon Tullock, Arthur Seldon, and Gordon L. Brady
185 pages/cloth $18.95/paper $9.95

When market forces fail us, who will step in to protect the public interest? The government, right? Wrong. This romantic view of bureaucrats coming to the rescue confuses the true relationship between economics and politics. Politicians often cite "market failure" as justification for meddling with the economy, but a group of leading scholars show that this view of an omniscient government correcting an imperfect market is badly mistaken. In *Government Failure,* the authors introduce the basic concepts of this school of study, known as "public choice," which uses the tools of economics to judge government behavior and shows the folly of excessive faith in the state.

CATO INSTITUTE

To order call 1-800-767-1241 or visit www.cato.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his dire "When, not if" warning about terrorist attacks, raising the question of what it would take to move the country's alert status.

At this point, everyone knows that terrorists can strike at any time, with monstrous results. People don't need a set of lights with vague significance; they need useful information and practical advice. When the National Weather Service issues a tornado warning, meteorologists are quick to appear on television and remind people what to do. Ridge could provide a service if he became the Al Roker of terrorism, advising people how to behave. If the FBI informs the public that the Brooklyn Bridge may be threatened, somebody should try to address the question that immediately pops into millions of heads: Should I cross the Brooklyn Bridge or not?

There's no reason to think things would improve under a Department of National Homeland Security. To the extent that bureaucratic failure contributed to September 11—why didn't the FBI's Phoenix memo about flight schools receive more attention?—the answer surely isn't more bureaucracy. Indeed, no homeland-security department can truly be in charge of homeland security, even if it were to seize total control of the federal government's border duties and also absorb the Federal Emergency Management Administration (as the Senate legislation proposes). The job of homeland security is simply too diffuse to house in a single place.

■

Ridge could provide a service if he became the Al Roker of terrorism, advising people how to behave.

■

What's more, much of the responsibility for it falls on state and local governments, plus the private sector. Ridge himself recognizes this: His July report will propose a *national* strategy rather than a federal one. Giving Ridge broad authority would be futile. Exercising even nominal control over this huge array of actors is close to impossible.

Rather than shift around responsibilities and duplicate efforts, the Bush administration should focus on reforming the agencies that are currently in charge of homeland security. Some of the necessary steps have already been taken: The Pentagon recently established a Northern Command to make the military more effective in responding to homeland-security concerns; the CIA and FBI are starting to talk to each other more; and so on. But a few important measures continue to be ignored. Ridge is no different from the rest of the Bush administration in his ill-advised opposition to "ethnic profiling" and arming pilots.

It just may be that the administration will come to agree with critics who say that Ridge hasn't made much of an impact—at which point the president will have to acknowledge that he made a mistake in creating the office or that Tom Ridge needs more authority. Unfortunately, Senate Democrats may ultimately succeed in getting Ridge to appear before them in a formal hearing—as Bush's nominee to head the Department of National Homeland Security. **NR**

The Muslim Next Door

Can we live with him? Can he live with us?

ROGER SCRUTON

THERE are now 15 million Muslims resident in Europe, and Muslim immigrants form close to 10 percent of the Dutch population. This last fact has led to the sudden collapse of the cozy social-democratic consensus in a country that has until recently been famous for its liberal approach to all questions of national identity. The extensive Muslim populations in France, mostly immigrants from North Africa, are one cause of the massive surge in popularity of Jean-Marie Le Pen. And even in Britain, where most Muslims are English-language speakers from the former British Empire, there is a growing sense that the clash of civilizations announced by Samuel Huntington is after all becoming a reality. Islamist cells in Germany, Muslim anti-Semitism in France, and the radical mullahs of the London mosques all contribute to this feeling, and of course the atrocities of September 11 have done nothing to dispel it. The question in every European mind is, Will Muslims assimilate?

This is not to say that the question is openly discussed. Massive political and social censorship, of the kind used to intimidate the followers, or would-be followers, of Le Pen, now prevails in Europe. Anyone who publicly raises the question of Muslim immigration risks being denounced as a racist, a xenophobe, or a religious bigot. And since the EU now proposes to make racism and xenophobia into a criminal offense, for which people can be extradited from anywhere in the Union to a court of the Investigator's choice, it may well be that all discussion of the matter will soon be officially closed. Still, people cannot be prevented from drawing their private conclusions, and from pondering the peculiar situation in which the residents of our cities now find themselves.

Consider the mad mullah of London's Finsbury Park mosque, Abu Hamza al-Masri, now wanted in Yemen on charges of conspiracy to murder. Hamza came to Britain seeking asylum, and in order to enjoy the security that British troops are currently risking their lives to defend. Taking advantage of a freedom of speech nowhere available in the Islamic world, Hamza has used his Friday sermons to incite young men to violence and holy war, naming Britain, among other places, as a legitimate target. The Yemeni government alleges, on very good grounds, that he has sent a group of British Muslims to Yemen in order to bomb the British embassy there and at the same time to kidnap and murder British tourists.

Mr. Scruton, a British philosopher, musician, and journalist, is the author of the forthcoming *The West and the Rest: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat* (ISI).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It goes without saying that the tolerance extended to Hamza would not be extended by Hamza himself, were he ever to realize his ambition of establishing an Islamic state in Britain. But *should* he be tolerated? The official view in most Western countries is that we are multicultural societies, and that cultures should be allowed complete freedom to develop in our territory, regardless of whether they conform to the traditional standards of behavior. As a result, the "multicultural" idea has become a form of apartheid, with each culture developing completely independently of the others. All criticism of minority cultures is censored out of public debate, and newcomers quickly conclude that it is possible to reside in a European state as an antagonist and still enjoy all the rights and privileges that are the reward of citizenship.

Toleration taken so far, however, undermines its own preconditions. For toleration is an Enlightenment ideal, and demands the Enlightenment conception of citizenship if it is to be a reality. The citizen, as defined by Locke, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and the Founding Fathers, is a free participant in the institutions that govern him. His primary obligation is to obey the law of a sovereign state, and to regard other citizens as equals before that law, regardless of their religious affiliation. We citizens enjoy a single political culture, with the nation-state as the object of our common loyalty, and a secular conception of law that makes religion a concern of family and society, but not of the state. The laws of Western states therefore make no religious demands, bind all citizens equally to a place and its history, and safeguard a political heritage in which the freedom of the individual is the highest aim of government.

People who see law, social identity, and loyalty as issuing from a religious or a tribal source cannot really form part of the Western political culture, and will not recognize either the obligation to the state or the love of country on which that obligation is founded. Many people are waking up to this fact, and beginning to recognize—as Pim Fortuyn recognized—that we citizens are not, and cannot be, members of a multicultural society, if that means a society with multiple and conflicting loyalties and rival systems of law.

The Western idea of citizenship implies that it is no more acceptable for Muslims to say that their religion absolves them from obedience to the territorial law than it is for any other group of citizens. Most Muslims accept this; but not all. A spokesman for al-Muhajiroun ("Emigrés" or "Exiles," a group founded in Britain and with links to Osama bin Laden) recently warned that no British Muslim has any obligation to British law when it conflicts with the law of Allah, and that the British mujahedin in Afghanistan, waiting to fight there against what others would call "their country," must remain indifferent to any charge of treason.

And at one level the spokesman is right. Islamic jurisprudence does not recognize secular, still less territorial, jurisdiction as a genuine source of law. It proposes a universal law (*sharia*) that is the single path to salvation. And the *sharia* is not understood as setting limits to the secular law, in the manner of the Ten Commandments, but rather as a fully comprehensive legislative system that can serve a military just as well as a civilian function. Nor does Islam recognize the state as an independent object of loyalty. Obedience is owed first to God, and then, below Him, to those situated at greater or lesser remove in the web of personal obligations.

Nor is there any trace in Islamic law of the secular conception of government that Christianity inherited (via St. Paul) from Roman law. Furthermore, since the *sharia* has never been written down, and is derived by reflecting on the primary religious sources, it often turns out to be identical, whether or not with the will of God, at least with the will of the mullah who invokes it.

WHOSE LAW, WHEN?

Public anxiety concerning the ability of Muslims to assimilate is therefore not entirely ill founded. It may be exaggerated to talk of a clash of civilizations; but it is not exaggerated to refer to a clash of jurisdictions. A religious jurisdiction can coexist with a territorial jurisdiction, when each is careful to relinquish the space required by the other. In effect, this coexistence was what the Enlightenment set out to achieve, and it achieved it so effectively that religion has all but vanished from the public and political life of the Western nations. But the Enlightenment was an episode within Judeo-Christian civilization, and has had no parallel in the Islamic world. This does not mean that Muslims cannot be loyal citizens of Western states—of course they can. But in becoming loyal citizens they must exchange tribal and credal loyalties for loyalties of a very different kind, founded on common territory and a secular rule of law. Many have done this. But some find the jettisoning of their rival loyalties to be either difficult or impossible. Some do not even understand that this is what might be required of them, in exchange for the privileges afforded by their new abode.

■

By treating all citizens as equal before the law, our political culture has been able to replace private vengeance with public justice, and to uphold the common commitment to peace.

■

This has great bearing not only on the Muslim communities in Europe, but also on the war against terrorism, and on the conflict in the Middle East. Territorial jurisdiction is a highly effective device for the resolution of human conflicts: Indeed, it is the root cause of the self-equilibrating and innovative character of Western societies. By treating all citizens as equal before the law, and by ostentatiously marginalizing claims of family, religion, and tribe, our political culture has been able to replace private vengeance with public justice, and to uphold the common commitment to peace.

Our legal systems are really elaborate agreements to differ, which have enabled us to exploit the most creative of all human attributes, which is that of difference itself. Moreover, because these legal systems are defined over sovereign territories, they embody a concrete idea of what peace amounts to: It is peace *here*, in this place that is our common home and common refuge. And all who reside here are entitled to enjoy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this peace, provided only that they obey the common law.

Islamist terrorism is founded on a holy law that does not exist in order to resolve conflicts peacefully, still less to offer terms to the unbeliever. Nor is it defined over territory. Islamic law is strictly speaking an extra-territorial, indeed, an extra-terrestrial law, which marshals human society with a loud voice from the heavens. Islam means "submission," and peace (*salm*) comes only when all opposition to divine command is vanquished. From the earliest days of the Prophet's exile in Medina, to the Islamist movements of today, this extra-terrestrial law has been called down to form the law of a new and conflict-free society. There will be no conflict in this new society, the Islamist believes, not because conflict is resolved but because the general submission to God's will means that conflicts cannot even begin.

Such a conception of society, when elevated to a political doctrine, is inimical to the spirit of negotiation. It accepts compromise only as a tactic, and regards the opponent as having no real right to his opinions, still less to his way of life. It cannot abide discussion, and learns nothing from those who disagree with it. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that people who have internalized the Islamic conception of law find it difficult to integrate into Western societies. For integration is possible only by becoming a citizen, and citizens must see themselves as such. In other words, they must confine their religious and ethnic loyalties to the private sphere, and be fellow citizens with people from other families, other tribes, and other faiths.

■

It is hardly surprising that people who have internalized the Islamic conception of law find it difficult to integrate into Western societies.

■

It is not possible for citizens to endure the rival and inimical loyalties of non-negotiating immigrants without at some point becoming affronted. This is what we are beginning to see in Europe. And while our native institutions—including the churches—are constantly extending messages of peace and conciliation to the Islamic newcomers, the newcomers themselves for the most part remain silent, comprehending neither the gesture nor the culture that extends it. Indeed, for many of them this gesture is really a form of cultural imperialism, like the repressive tolerance described by Herbert Marcuse. Unwilling to pay the price of reciprocity, Muslims frequently retreat into the ghetto, where the writ of citizenship does not run.

How we in the West are to deal with this, I do not know. But one thing is certain, which is that we must learn to confront the new realities, and not to censor those who draw attention to them. For this, too, is part of our Enlightenment heritage: that we seek to resolve our conflicts by discussing them. And discussion is useless, if it hides the truth. **NR**

Rethinking Foreign Students

A question of the national interest

GEORGE J. BORJAS

MANY foreign leaders—the Philippines' Corazon Aquino and Israel's Ehud Barak, to name just two—obtained part of their education in the United States. Such training may be one of America's highest valued exports: By giving future foreign leaders firsthand exposure to our system of government, we are presumably building a safer, freer, and more prosperous world.

Another foreign student, Hani Hasan Hanjour, got a visa to study English at ELS Language Centers, a Berlitz-owned school that leases space at a local college in Oakland, Calif. He did not attend a single class. Instead, he became one of the terrorists in the plane that crashed into the Pentagon on September 11. And two other terrorists were waiting for the official approval of their student visas to attend flight school—an approval that the Immigration and Naturalization Service dutifully mailed out six months after the attacks.

In 1971, the State Department issued only 65,000 student visas. By 2000, it was issuing 315,000 such visas, and there may now be as many as 1 million foreign students in the U.S. The increase in the size of this program has transformed the typical American university, and the impact is especially striking in particular fields: Foreign students receive 35 percent of the doctorates awarded in the physical sciences, and 49 percent of those in engineering.

The program is now so large, so riddled with corruption, and so ineptly run that the INS simply does not know how many foreign students are in the country or where they are enrolled. It has grown explosively without anyone asking the most basic questions: Is such a large-scale foreign-student program in our interests? What does it cost us? And what does it buy us?

A TICKET TO THE U.S.

A foreigner who wishes to study in the U.S. starts by applying for admission to an educational or vocational institution. To qualify for a student visa, he must be accepted by an INS-approved school; he must enroll in it full-time; and he must have sufficient funds for self-support.

When the student is admitted into a program, the school sends him a Form I-20 ("Certificate of Eligibility for Nonimmigrant Student Status"). The student takes this form to the local consulate. A consular official interviews him and reviews the application before deciding whether to grant a

Mr. Borjas is a professor of public policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

visa. If the student was accepted by several U.S. schools, as is common, that student has received several I-20s. Inevitably, there are numerous reports of a black market for the unused I-20s in many countries.

But once a student enters the U.S., there is practically no monitoring of him: The schools do not even have to report whether the student actually enrolled. Recently, the Bush administration has proposed an Internet-based system to track these students: Each school would record any changes in a student's address, major, or enrollment status. But this approach will probably not be very effective, since the INS lacks the resources to take any action if, for example, the University of Southern California reports that ten of its foreign students dropped out in the past semester. There are already 10 million illegal aliens in the country; does anyone believe that the INS can somehow find those extra ten?

Indeed, many foreigners want to study in the U.S. precisely because a student visa buys them a ticket into the country. Between 1971 and 1991, just over 3 million persons received student visas, and 393,000 of them were able to eventually adjust their immigration status and obtain a "green card," or permanent-residence visa. Only about 13 percent of the students remain here in this legal manner; others remain illegally, and the lax monitoring system has surely encouraged many to do so. Around 10 percent of the 3 million illegal aliens who received amnesty in the late 1980s were persons with temporary visas, many of them foreign students, who had remained in the country after their visas had expired.

Although it might seem that a student visa does not buy much of a chance of moving permanently to the U.S., the chances would be far smaller without it. Foreigners have very few options for migrating legally to the U.S. unless they already have relatives residing here. One potential avenue is to enter the "diversity lottery," in which 50,000 permanent-residence visas are raffled off each year. The last lottery attracted 10 million applicants, so the chance of winning a green card was only 0.5 percent, far smaller than the chances provided by a student visa.

It would seem that a major roadblock in obtaining a student visa is that the applicant must be admitted by an INS-approved educational institution. There are, however, around 73,000 schools that are certified to hand out I-20s. It is eye-opening to browse through the actual list. In the San Diego area alone, the INS grants its seal of approval to nearly 400 institutions, ranging from the University of California at San Diego to Avance Beauty College, the College of English Language (where new courses start every Monday), the Asian American Acupuncture University, and the San Diego Golf Academy. Because there are so many INS-approved institutions, anyone with the money can buy a student visa to enter the U.S. America has effectively delegated the task of selecting immigrants to thousands of privately run entities whose incentives need not coincide with the national interest.

Consider the financial incentives of large research universities. These institutions need workers to staff their science labs and teaching assistants to assign to large undergraduate classes, and they would prefer to fill these positions at low salaries. Foreign students provide an almost limitless supply of willing workers. Similarly, the owners of privately run vocational schools benefit by having more tuition-paying students, and they have a huge incentive to sell visas under the guise of a foreign-student program.

There are widespread reports that the program has corrupted the admission and education standards at some schools. A well-publicized example involved a San Diego-area businessman who received between $200,000 and $300,000 to procure student visas for Middle Eastern students. In this intricate scheme, an admissions officer accepted bribes to admit the students, and professors at three different colleges sold passing grades.

■

America has effectively delegated the task of selecting immigrants to thousands of privately run entities whose incentives need not coincide with the national interest.

■

There is even more corruption abroad. Because the foreign-student program provides a rare opportunity for migrating to the U.S., there is a thriving industry of consulting firms that grease the wheels of the process. The demand for student visas by Chinese nationals is so strong that, according to a U.S. consular official in Beijing, a fee of $10,000 buys phony letters of recommendation, false evidence of economic support, and even professional actors to stand in during the interview with consular officials.

The Internet has numerous websites of firms that guide prospective students for a fee. In India, the Foreign Studies Service Bureau (www.fssbusa.com) will guarantee an I-20 form for about $800, and they even list the schools where the potential student can be enrolled. The list of 92 schools is topped by the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee and Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. (The FSSB removed the fee information from its website soon after the first draft of this article began circulating.)

There is healthy competition among these firms. A South Korean immigration attorney (www.visas-usa.com/library/foreign_students_ch1_e.htm) gives some fatherly advice: "There are probably hundreds of 'YooHakWon' in Seoul, all specializing in helping students find a school in the United States . . . There are advantages and disadvantages in retaining their services. The advantage is that they will probably help you obtain an I-20 Form . . . The disadvantage is that the school chosen for you may not be the right school for you . . . All 'YooHakWons' in Korea receive a commission from a school in the United States when they introduce a student to them . . . They may try to introduce you to a school from which they receive a commission, rather than finding a school which is right for you."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In short, the INS relegated the vetting of prospective students to an amazingly large number of institutions that benefit financially from the presence of foreign students, and to foreign consultants who brazenly misuse, distort, and pervert the system. This corrupt outcome has little to do with whatever noble goals motivate the program's existence.

THE ACADEMY SCAM

And to whose benefit? A study by the National Academy of Sciences concluded that *all* of the immigration over the past few decades increased the income accruing to natives by less than $10 billion a year. Of that $10 billion contribution, very little—less than $1 billion—can be attributed to foreign students, who account for less than 2 percent of all permanent immigrants.

The net gain to the country may be small—but the higher-education industry can benefit substantially. Foreign students are an important part of the workforce in many universities. Wages and salaries in this sector are around $50 billion annually. If the huge influx of foreign-student workers lowered wages by only 5 percent, the payroll savings would be around $2 billion each year, transferring a significant amount of wealth from workers to management in that industry.

■

The typical discussion of foreign students' contributions tends to remain on the level of sweeping platitudes.

■

Taxpayers also lose. The tuition that colleges charge is not typically enough to cover the cost of an education. Gordon Winston, former provost of Williams College, estimates that the average per-student subsidy is $6,400 in private universities and $9,200 in public universities. The 275,000 foreign students enrolled in public institutions are subsidized to the tune of $2.5 billion a year. This subsidy is so large that the foreign-student program may actually generate a net loss for the U.S.

The typical discussion of foreign students' contributions tends to remain on the level of sweeping platitudes. For example, Michael Becraft, former acting deputy commissioner of the INS, has said: "Foreign-student programs have been found to serve U.S. foreign-policy objectives by exposing nationals of other countries to the institutions and culture of the United States, by helping to cement alliances with other countries, and by transferring knowledge and skills to other countries, particularly developing countries." And David Ward, president of the American Council on Education, recently testified: "Without exception, I found [foreign students] to be diligent and hard-working individuals who . . . helped expose American-born students to the world that they would encounter after graduating from college."

There is, in fact, little evidence to support any of these claims. If exposure to foreign students is so valuable to American students—preparing them for "the world that they would encounter after graduating"—why do we not see foreign countries offering thousands of dollars to induce Americans to attend foreign universities? Those countries have much more to gain by exposing *their* students to Americans. We are the world's largest market, and our culture and politics dominate world affairs. Yet France has managed with fewer than 12,000 American students, and Germany with fewer than 5,000.

There is also the argument that the U.S. gains because the foreign-student program lets us skim the best talent from other countries. But over half of the foreign students who end up staying in the country do so not because of exceptional skills or because they are swamped by job offers after graduation, but simply because they marry an American. And the methods foreigners use to obtain student visas, and the ones American institutions use to recruit them, do not boost our confidence that only the best and the brightest show up on our doorstep.

One could plausibly argue that foreign students have *lowered* the quality of undergraduate education. Undergraduates often charge that the poor English of many foreign-born teaching assistants impede their understanding of the material. And there is evidence that foreign-born teaching assistants do indeed have an adverse effect on the academic achievement of U.S.-born undergraduates, as measured by student grades and test scores.

BREACH OF SECURITY

But the issue that generated the most concern in the wake of the September 11 attacks was not that the benefits of the foreign-student program are greatly exaggerated; it was that foreign students might be a physical threat to Americans. Hence the INS's development of the computerized system to track the students.

Yet the security problems would not be solved even if it were possible to track every single student most of the time. By delegating the responsibility for selecting students to 73,000 private entities, the INS persists in *creating* security problems. To take just one example, 14 Syrian men with student visas arrived in the Dallas-Fort Worth airport in October 2001. They were all to be enrolled in a flight school, Delta-Qualiflight Aeronautics, which enrolls a very large number of Middle Eastern students. In fact, Arabic is the main language spoken at that school. That school's admission policy would surely raise concerns if it were reviewed by an independent agency; but there is no independent review.

The September attacks raise an even more important question about the student-worker program. The U.S. has traditionally banned the export of goods that it considers vital to national security, such as supercomputers, encryption technology, and material that can be used to produce weapons of mass destruction. *Yet no similar ban exists on the knowledge that can be acquired in American universities and exported abroad.* And the potential for this kind of abuse is not hypothetical: Consider the history of Dr. Rihab

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rashida Taha. She obtained a Ph.D. in biology at the University of East Anglia in the United Kingdom. Her studies were funded by the Iraqi ministry of higher education, and her doctoral research was on plant poisons. Upon returning to Iraq, "Dr. Germ," as she is now known in the British tabloids, became the head of Saddam Hussein's bioterrorism team.

Professor Paula Stephan of Georgia State University recently compiled statistics on doctorates awarded to students originating in countries targeted for increased security monitoring, including Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. Between 1981 and 1999, students from those countries received 111 doctorates in nuclear and organic chemistry, with 40 of them going to Iraqi students; 434 doctorates in chemical and nuclear engineering, with 106 going to Iraqis; and 112 doctorates in atomic and nuclear physics, with 31 going to Iraqis.

The Bush administration recently proposed that a government panel review the applications of foreign students who want to study in sensitive areas; but this is likely to be an ineffective response. The panel may need to screen as many as 2,000 applications per year, and it will get little cooperation from the universities: According to the Associated Press, a lobbyist for the universities—seemingly oblivious to the potentially catastrophic cost of a security breach—is complaining that the panel's review "could delay entry into the country and prevent people from enrolling at the beginning of a school term."

Eventually, the U.S. will have to confront an unpalatable policy decision: Should foreign students belonging to particular national-origin groups be barred from entering particular types of educational programs?

OUT OF CONTROL

The foreign-student program has been spinning out of control for years. The terrorist attacks motivated California Democratic senator Dianne Feinstein to propose a six-month moratorium on student visas, giving the INS a breathing period to put the program under tighter control. After intense lobbying by the nation's universities, however, Feinstein withdrew her proposal.

It's not politically correct to say so, but the foreign-student program may not be all that beneficial. Once we stop humming the Ode to Diversity that plays such a central role in the modern secular liturgy, we will recognize that the time has come for a fundamental reevaluation of the program: Why should American taxpayers subsidize the tuition of the hundreds of thousands of foreign students enrolled in public universities? Is it sensible to give so many different institutions the authority to admit foreign students? Can we afford to ignore the national-security rationale for keeping some educational programs off-limits to students from particular countries? The remarkably powerful combination of INS ineptitude and the greed of the higher-education sector has perverted what seemed to be a sensible and noble effort into an economically dubious proposition and a national-security fiasco. The foreign-student program shows yet again how our immigration policy has failed to serve the national interest. **NR**

Interviewing a Nuremberg Killer

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Nuremberg, September 1945

Concentration Camp Commander Kurt Waldemar Amadeus is examined by the U.S. prosecutor.

He was seated in a two-armed wooden chair, the seat and back lined with leather turned shiny over the years. The defendant wore his metallic-gray SS jacket, shorn from Day One at Nuremberg of any identifying features indicating rank or military order. The pants matched his jacket and he wore boots that rose to a few inches from his knee. An MP guard stood at either side, in the parade-rest position. When the door opened, he rose and the guards snapped to attention.

He looked first at Sebastian, who walked at the head of the little procession to his seat opposite. Sebastian was followed by Captain Carver and Sergeant Hempstone. Carver nodded curtly and sat down. He waited for the portly Sergeant Hempstone to set up her stenotype machine. She moved her chair and her stand deftly and turned an experienced glance at Captain Carver: She was ready.

Carver cleared his throat and read out for the record: *We will proceed with the interrogation of Defendant Kurt Waldemar Amadeus.*

"*General* Amadeus," the defendant corrected, revealing at least enough familiarity with English to recognize that his rank had not been acknowledged.

"We do not use rank," Carver said offhandedly, looking down at his notes. Then, "That you attained the rank of brigadier general will be revealed in the interrogatory."

Sebastian interpreted, his rendition only once requiring the telltale pause of the alien phrase going from one language to another.

Amadeus turned his eyes to Sebastian, a hint of curiosity on his face at the young man's fluency.

"You are charged . . ."

Captain Carver read out Counts Three and Four from the London Agreement, and then launched into the step-by-step interrogatory. This was tedious because he already had the answers to the preliminary material. Such, he sighed inwardly, would always figure in encounters with the law. He knew that from experience. Time wasted, but perhaps necessarily.

"You were born in Essen, Germany, in 1909." The questions were rapidly interpreted and answered.

"You attended the Technical Institute of Berlin where you studied civil engineering and architecture. You graduated in

---

Mr. Buckley is editor-at-large of NATIONAL REVIEW. This is an excerpt from his new novel, *Nuremberg: The Reckoning* (Harcourt, 366 pp., $25), reviewed in this issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1929 and did work for Defendant Albert Speer while he was at the Institute. You returned to the Institute in 1933, where you served as instructor. In 1937 you left to join the SS. Why?"

Amadeus looked up, his pale face without expression, his body erect. "The SS needed younger men with experience. Herr Speer urged me to take the assignment."

"After you joined the SS and received training you were sent to a camp called Dachau to supervise the completion of a new wing. Which part of the Dachau camp were you engaged in building?"

"The new barracks, and attendant buildings."

"Were there prisoners resident in Dachau when you were doing this?"

"Yes. But in a different part of the camp."

"Were you aware what these prisoners were in Dachau for?"

"They were there, I was told, for miscellaneous misconduct against the state."

■

'Amadeus never said he agreed with Hitler's orders. He just said Hitler's orders made what he did legal.'

■

"Did you receive help in the construction of your new buildings from the Dachau prisoners?"

"Yes."

"Did any of these prisoners die, while at work for your division?"

"You mean die at work? Die while working?"

"Yes."

"No."

Captain Carver leaned over to Sebastian. He lowered his voice. "There's no affidavit on this point that I can remember, is there?"

"None, sir."

Back to Amadeus. "After you did your work at Dachau, you were assigned to an SS Unit in the Leibstandarte SS Adolf Hitler?"

"Yes."

"And participated in the war against France."

Amadeus paused. "I participated in the action against the Lowlands and France."

"We call that a war."

"Herr Captain, that was a defensive military action. France had been at war with us since September 1939."

Sebastian wondered if Carver would let that go. He guessed rightly; he would; it didn't matter. And it was true that France and England had already declared war on Germany.

"What was the nature of your duties in France?"

"I was head of the SS intelligence unit for the Leibstandarte."

"And what were the activities you engaged in as intelligence officer?"

Amadeus smiled. "May I smoke, Herr Captain?"

Colonel Andrus had said yes, defendants could smoke during interrogation, unless the interrogating officer found the smoke offensive. Carver motioned an okay.

Amadeus nodded, withdrew a package of cigarettes, and lit one. "What did I do? What all intelligence officers do, Herr Captain."

"I do not know what 'all intelligence officers do.' My questions are directed to you to answer. You are not to assume my knowledge of the answers to the questions I direct to you. Now: Did you engage in apprehending any non-German citizens and shipping them to Germany or Poland?"

"A few Jews."

Carver looked up. Sebastian scratched a hard exclamation point on his steno pad. The stenotypist paused, waiting for more.

Captain Carver fiddled with his briefing papers. Then, "You say 'a few Jews.' What do you mean by 'a few'?"

Amadeus blew smoke from his mouth and furrowed his brow. "Maybe eight or ten thousand."

"And why Jews?"

Amadeus seemed surprised. "They were enemies of the state."

Carver thought to depart from the script. "Who decided that?"

"The Fuehrer."

"You therefore considered it a legal act?"

"Everything the Fuehrer did was legal."

Suggested procedure, Colonel John Harlan Amen, in charge of coordinating interrogations, had said in his memo, was a five-minute break at the end of every hour of questioning. The guards would lead the prisoner out of the hearing room into the washroom. The interrogation staff would wait outside.

Sebastian stretched his limbs, awaiting access to the lavatory. From one of the twin urinals, Carver leaned over to Sebastian. "He's not going to give us any problem on the Jewish question. He's a cool, unrepentant cat."

"Speer certainly thought he was a competent executive when he gave him that last assignment. But hold on, Captain. Amadeus never said he *agreed* with Hitler's orders. He just said Hitler's orders made what he did legal."

* * *

Nuremberg, October 1945

Today's was the fourth session conducted with Amadeus by Captain Carver, who focused now on two points: the exact nature of the defendant's activities as head of Camp Joni and the missing records. Carver was under special pressure from the Soviet delegation to extract from Amadeus some clue as to where such records might be hidden. They would yield the names of Russian prisoners of war gassed or executed.

"Herr Amadeus," Captain Carver persisted in the interrogation, "who was it who actually maintained the records of the victims—of the men and women—who went into the gas chamber?"

"We had record keepers. The formal responsibility was that of the Rottenfuehrer. A corporal. I was given only the gross figures, which I then relayed to Gruppenfuehrer Richard Glucks, who reported to Reichsfuehrer Himmler."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Did the victims ever pass through your office?"

Amadeus hesitated. "If you are saying, were there people who, as you say, passed through my office and subsequently—died?" (*Yet again, Sebastian noted, General Amadeus had worked his way around the word "killed."*) "Yes."

"What was it that prevented such people, who subsequently died, from being taken directly from the train to the execution chamber? Why were they detained? And how many were there?"

"I assume you are talking about going from the train to that part of the compound that provided living quarters? Well, that would mean many people."

"Why 'many'?"

"Joni required a considerable work force to maintain it."

"The people"—Carver tired of using the word *victims*; it was the correct word, but he was now bent on inducing a measure of relaxation in the defendant's formalistic answers. To go on using the words *victims* and *kill*, let alone *torture*, emphasized the antagonistic character of the interrogation, which would be unprofitable. Carver was seeking two things, one was factual information, the other the cultivation of whatever humane sensibility lay dormant in the man across the table. Whether or not such sensibility was there, Carver assumed that the prosecution would recommend—with Carver's entire approval—hanging. But repentance on the stand, at the trial, was always a second objective. "The people who were taken from the train to do labor work, they were what percentage of the arriving prisoners?"

"That would depend on the needs of the camp on any particular day."

"What percentage of the incoming prisoners might that be?"

"As low as ten percent, as high as thirty percent."

There was a knock on the door.

"Yes?" Carver called out.

One of the Amadeus guards walked over to the door and opened it to a sergeant. "Captain Carver, I need to pass on a personal message to you, sir."

* * *

Carver paused for a moment, then said, "Reinhard, why not go ahead? Yes. Go ahead with the line of questioning I was taking. If the son of a bitch doesn't cooperate, well—he doesn't cooperate. You know what we're after, you can fill me in later. Right now Colonel Amen needs to see me, and my guess is that his problem will use up a bit of time." He turned to the stenographer. "You can stop making a record unless Lieutenant Reinhard asks you to resume." He turned back to Sebastian. "Okay?"

"Yes sir."

The door closed.

Army of the United States Second Lieutenant Sebastian Reinhard was in the room with the Nazi Brigadefuehrer Kurt Waldemar Amadeus, former commander of an extermination camp, along with a stenographer and two MP guards who spoke not a word of German.

Sebastian thought it prudent to strike an informal note. So he started by saying, "I lived in Hamburg, where I was born. I was there until 1939, when my mother took me to America."

Amadeus looked sharply at Sebastian. Then said: "I know Hamburg. There is not much left of it, I understand."

"No, not much. I came through it on the way here. It is like Nuremberg. . . . Well, the captain wishes me to continue the inquiry."

"Go ahead," Amadeus said. "I will say the same thing to you that I would to your captain."

"If an arrival was not sent immediately to the death chambers, how long did he continue in the workforce?"

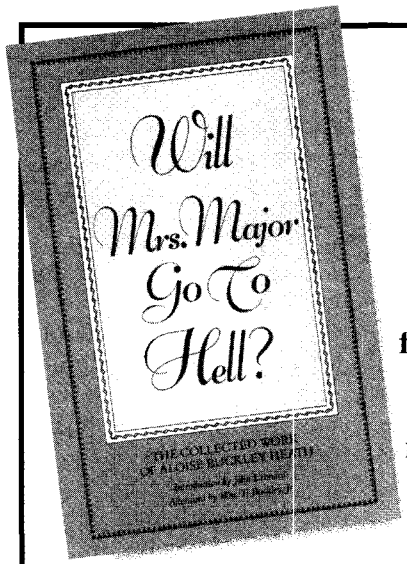
"That depended. Some workers were especially qualified. For instance, a good electrician, an experienced carpenter."

"Did that mean if they continued to work in Camp Joni, they could hope to escape the . . . oven?" The German word was less burdened than *gas chamber*.

"No. I never told them that. On the other hand, I cannot answer for the practices of my subordinates. I thought it wrong to arouse false hopes."

"Why false?"

"Because there was a reason for such people to have



WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?

Tender, poignant, warm, and funny, the collected work of Aloïse Buckley Heath (many originally appeared in *National Review*) makes a wonderful gift. Hilarious vignettes of *real* family values. $16.95/hardcover.

WILL MRS. MAJOR GO TO HELL?
Hardcove/$16.95 each. Please add
$3 shipping/handling charge per order.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ ZIP _____

Number of books: _____

PAYMENT METHOD

☐ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")

Bill to: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa

Acct. No. _____

Expir. Date _____

Signature _____

Total payment $ _____

New York State residents must include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arrived in the first place at an elimination camp. Some of them were Jews."

Sebastian made a note on his pad. "How did you know they were Jews?"

Amadeus seemed surprised by the question. "They arrived in a shipload of Jews. And most wore markings, identifying marks. Besides, I have had much experience. I can tell by just looking. For instance, you are part Jewish."

Sebastian looked up, intrigued.

"All that you have proved by saying that, Herr Amadeus, is that in fact you *cannot* discern Jewishness."

Amadeus shrugged, and gave out a tight little smile. "You were saying that when the trains arrived at Joni, there were people in the cars who were not Jewish? Yes, that's true, there were such people. But they were all in the cars for a reason. They were being *deported* for a reason. If they were Russians, for instance, they were either prisoners of war or Soviet sympathizers. And there were many who were suspected."

"Suspected of what?"

"Of cooperating with the Soviets. My job, Lieutenant Reinhard, was not to try them, but to eliminate them."

"Did you have the authority to suspend a sentence indefinitely, or to remit it?"

■

'You speak, Lieutenant Reinhard, as if the case against Jews was only a—what shall I say?—a peculiarity of the Fuehrer. Of course that is not the case.'

■

"No."

"Did you inquire directly from those who—who passed through your office—into the nature of their offense?"

"Their offense, most of them, was to be Jewish."

"Did you consider it a part of your duty to inquire why being Jewish meant being an enemy of the Third Reich?"

Amadeus began a smile, then stopped it abruptly. His tone was earnest. "You speak, Lieutenant Reinhard, as if the case against Jews was only a—what shall I say?—a peculiarity of the Fuehrer. Of course that is not the case. It was simply that the Fuehrer had the courage to act on the anti-Semitism of most Europeans."

Maybe, Sebastian thought, as substitute interrogator he was moving in a direction Captain Carver would not have taken. Still, here was Brigadefuehrer Kurt Amadeus, the stenographer Sergeant Hempstone, and two MP guards. Who would object? Carver was not present, and Carver had told him to pursue the interrogation.

So Sebastian decided to go ahead and try something different. Something that would be very difficult to do, perhaps impossible for a non-German-speaking interrogator. He said, "Would you consent to tell me in your own words what it was that brought you to believe the . . . strictures of Hitler—of the Fuehrer—on the matter of the Jews?"

Amadeus searched in his pocket and extracted a cigarette. "I was just beginning my career as an architect—" He stopped suddenly, reached back into his pocket, and brought out the package again. He extended it to Sebastian. "I should have offered you one. Would you care for a cigarette?"

"I don't smoke." A pause. "Thank you."

"*Bitte, bitte.* I was saying that I did some drafting with Herr Speer after graduating. He then got me a job—it was practically a starvation-level salary, but it was something—as assistant instructor at the Berlin Institute. At Christmas I sent him a card. He telephoned me and said he had become closely associated with the Fuehrer. That was when he advised me to enroll with the SS. To continue teaching was not an alternative—I was a junior and would be dropped at the end of the spring. Employment in architectural commerce was unlikely. You are aware of the unemployment figures in 1933, Lieutenant Reinhard?"

Sebastian nodded. "In 1933, my own father was a civil engineer in Hamburg and—" Sebastian blurted it out, immediately regretting that he had done so—"he voted for Hitler in 1933."

Amadeus puffed deeply from his cigarette, then stamped it out. Again he stared hard at Sebastian. "I became an officer in the SS. The discipline I accepted was to do as the Fuehrer's subordinates instructed me to do. But I accepted another obligation, a derivative obligation. Do you understand my language? You are manifestly too young to have been in college."

"Yes. I follow you all right."

"—which was to do what the Fuehrer said *and to try to think what he thought*. One is a better soldier for doing so. So I was a soldier of the Fuehrer. His orders became my orders, and his thinking, my thinking. And do you know, Lieutenant Reinhard, it wasn't only people named Amadeus, and Goering, and Frank, and Kaltenbrunner who believed in Aryan supremacy. Others, with . . . more familiar names, also followed his orders."

The door swung open. Captain Carver returned to his seat. He addressed Sebastian. "You getting anywhere?"

"He began talking. But we ended on the usual line, him saying the usual thing—Hitler gave the orders, he followed them."

"Did you get into where the camp records might be?"

"Actually, no."

"Well," Carver sighed, "let's try one more time. The Soviets are really hot on this and they're convinced the records weren't destroyed. Here we go—" He turned to the defendant.

"Herr Amadeus, when you were relieved of command, did you take any records from Camp Joni with you?"

"No," Brigadefuehrer Amadeus said, the tone of his voice returning to the laconic humdrum of the three previous sessions.

A half hour later they were overdue for the break. "Tell him we're cutting out. He'll be told when we want another session with him."

Sebastian relayed the message. Captain Carver stood up and motioned to the guards. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE LONG VIEW

By Rob Long

Through the years with the FBI mailbag . . .

FROM THE DIVISION CIRCULAR, CHICAGO OFFICE, MAY 16, 1924:

. . . a couple of interesting characters by the name of Leopold and Loeb, who seem at least upon first observation to be up to some kind of unsavory activity, though what, specifically and exactly, is unclear. Both are of diminutive aspect, though one is clearly the brains of the duo. Suspicions of inverted activity gave this investigator pause, in addition to a peculiar conversation overheard in the local general supply store. Keep a jaundiced eye out for these two jokers . . .

A TELEGRAM FROM THE NEW JERSEY FIELD OFFICE, FEBRUARY 20, 1932:

URGENT FIELD REPORT STOP SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITY REPORTED STOP RUMOURS UNCOVERED OF WICKED PLOT STOP PRUDENT TO ALERT LOCAL CONSTABLES STOP QUESTION SHOULD ADVISE LINDBERGH FAMILY STOP QUESTION POST SENTRIES ALONG LINDBERGH HOUSE GROUNDS STOP QUESTION REMOVE CONVENIENTLY PLACED LADDER FROM SIDE OF HOUSE AT LEAST STOP AWAIT INSTRUCTIONS STOP PLEASE ADVISE EARLIEST POSSIBLE STOP

A POSTCARD FROM HONOLULU, DECEMBER 2, 1941:

A big "Aloha!"—that's "Hiya!" in Hawaiian—to everyone back in chilly Washington! The weather here is awfully swell, and we're all enjoying the sand 'n' surf. Bob Jr. has taken to riding the waves, Hawaii-style, while Ellen and little Ellie are both the perfect bathing beauties. Awful lot of Japanese around, though, taking pictures and drawing sketches and making little maps and counting battleships—pretty annoying, actually. Thank God they all left this morning! In a hurry too! Guess they were hungry for Chop Suey! Say "aloha" to Director Hoover for me. Be back on the 17th!

A JOURNAL ENTRY FROM FEBRUARY 1950:

. . . and Ethel and Julius sure do have a lot of interesting friends. I popped by yesterday to deliver some mail that had been mistakenly delivered to me—the mailman has trouble distinguishing the handwriting on a lot of letters that the Rosenbergs get, I guess, so a lot of it ends up in my box—and boy, had they gathered an eclectic group. Julius nicely invited me in for a drink (Ethel, I think, wasn't as pleased to see me—she's kind of stand-offish), and I sat with some of the less beatnik-looking fellows chewing the fat about this and that. Some of them were pretty excited to hear that I was a "G-man," and I have to confess that I laid it on pretty thick! I have to confess that I really livened up their dull gathering—I had the crowd eating out of the palm of my hand while I was telling them about some of the nifty ways we catch Commies, and before I knew it, it was almost eleven o'clock . . .

AN INTELLIGENCE BRIEFING FROM THE DALLAS OFFICE, OCTOBER 1963:

. . . probably just a confused young man shooting his mouth off in a bar. Still, Oswald has recently been spotted practicing at a local shooting range, and his Kennedy-hating comments around town have raised some eyebrows. As a precaution, the Dallas office has pulled his passport file and his military records, and these tend to suggest that he's not just all talk. A stint in Moscow, some dealings with the Soviet mission in Mexico City, and his dishonorable discharge lead us to request clearance to place him under surveillance. Additionally, agents have noticed severe security breaches at the Texas School Book Depository, from which a lone gunman could, potentially, fire on a passing presidential automobile, providing that automobile were of the convertible-top type with the top down. Please route this briefing to the relevant liaison at Secret Service.

A TELEX FROM THE SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE TO THE LOS ANGELES OFFICE, FEBRUARY 3, 1974:

>>in receipt of your warning feb 2 in regards kidnapping plot in regards patricia horst current uc berkeley student
>>regret to inform no such student registered at uc berkeley under horst patricia
>>best regards, sf office

A REQUEST FOR LUNCH EXPENSE VOUCHER, DETROIT OFFICE, JULY 29, 1975:

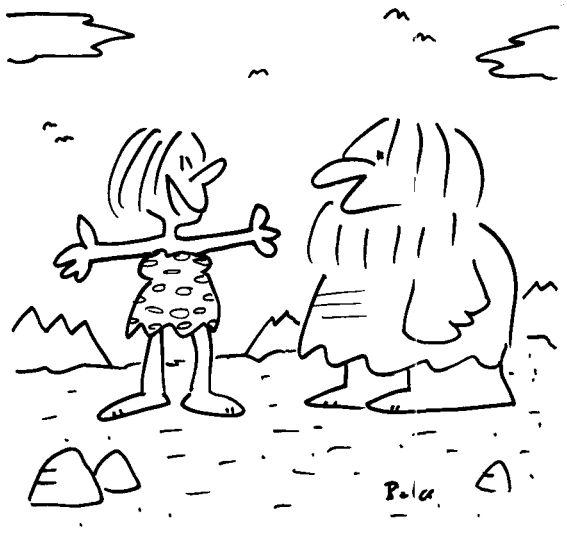
Proposed meal type: late brunch
Proposed purpose of meal: discuss possibility of recruiting high-level informant for continuing investigation of organized crime infiltration of Teamsters
Date of proposed meal: tomorrow, 7/30
Place of proposed meal: Machus Red Fox restaurant, Bloomfield Hills, MI
Persons attending proposed meal: Agents (2) and James "Jimmy" Hoffa
Remarks: Subject has signaled a willingness to cooperate with OC investigations in exchange for protective custody. Subject believes an attack on his life is imminent. Subject is in a position to provide substantial and credible intelligence on OC activities in Michigan, and in organized labor in general.

Stamped on request for lunch expense voucher, an undetermined number of weeks later:
DENIED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HELP!!!!

I DON'T MIND TELLING YOU, I'VE HAD IT WITH THE CONGRESSIONAL NITPICKERS. PULL OVER—THESE GUYS NEED A LIFT INTO TOWN.
U.S. IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE
MOTOR POOL
21-34N



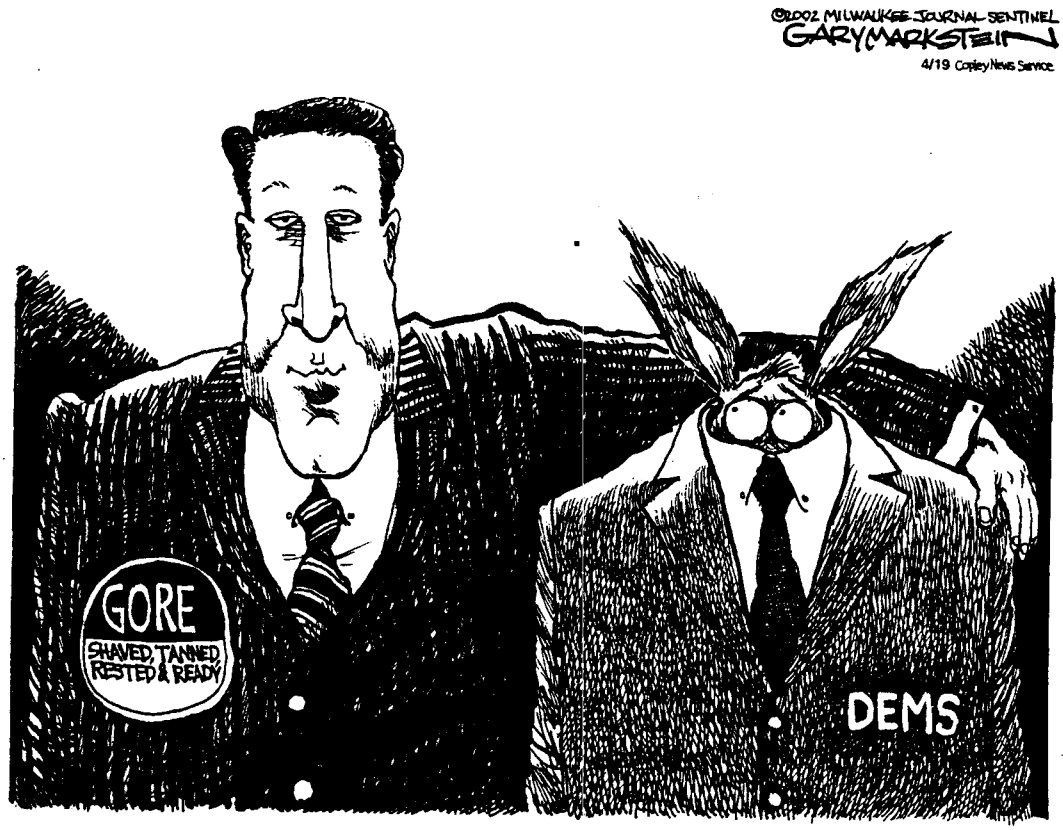
"Like it?—I clubbed it to death and skinned it myself."

FLORIDA STRATEGY

Eye on the doughnut, not the hole,
George left Miami on a roll
That still reverberates, as Jeb,
Composed and lazily ahead,
Suppresses a reflexive yuck,
Observing Janet in her truck:
While Jimmy, who tut-tuts Tehran,
Mistakes Fidel for Dashing Dan.

—W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"...ARE WE THERE YET?...I'M BORED...CAN WE JUST GO BACK?..."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

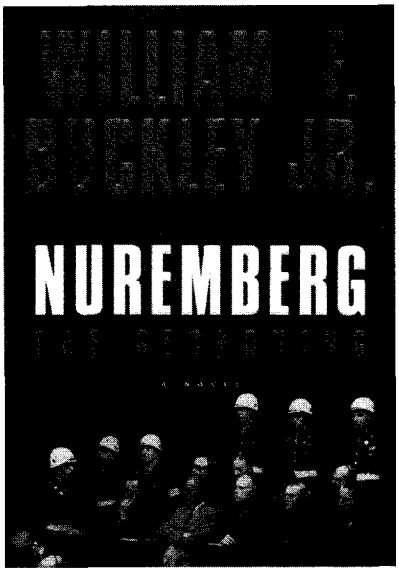
Genocide on Trial

MICHAEL KNOX BERAN

Nuremberg: The Reckoning, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Harcourt, 366 pp., $25)

THEY were supposed to throw themselves on the pyre. That, the Roman historian Tacitus said, was ever the German way: Better to perish in the conflagration than outlive the tribe's defeat. In the last days of the war, the German leader, holed up in his bunker, plotted the fireworks in which the Reich was to be consumed. "If the war is to be lost," Hitler told Albert Speer in March 1945, "the nation will also perish." There was "no need to consider the basis even of a most primitive [national] existence any longer." On the contrary, Hitler said, "it is better to destroy even that, and to destroy it ourselves." What remained of the German industrial base was to be demolished; and the German leaders were to fall on their swords.

It didn't happen that way. The end of the war found many of the Reich's viziers unreconciled to their doom. Even before Hitler's corpse had been burned in the chancellery garden, Himmler had attempted to open a negotiation with the Allies. Goering, the tyrant's designated heir, had declared himself "ready to fly personally to General Eisenhower" to arrange a capitulation. They soon discovered that the Allies were in no mood to bargain. At the same time, however, there was disagreement among the victors themselves about what ought to be done with the remnant of the Nazi leadership. Churchill, for his part, talked of



rounding the high priests up and shooting them dead.

In his provocative new novel, *Nuremberg: The Reckoning*, William F. Buckley Jr. recreates the Allies' efforts to pronounce a more considered judgment upon the vanquished. The setting for the experiment was carefully chosen; Nuremberg was one of the holiest cities of National Socialism, a place where some of its most gigantic altars had been raised, and where, in the autumn of 1945, the disagreeable odors of its incense still hung heavily in the air. The fanatic citadel had not long before fallen to the American Seventh Army, and in his book Buckley brings the broken city to life. At the center is the Palace of Justice, where, Buckley writes, the defeated satraps, stripped of their badges of rank and honor, were "monitored twenty-four hours a day by jailers looking through slits in the cell doors, a naked overhead light on, day and night."

The book is immensely engaging. Buckley excels at taking an exceedingly intricate historical record and imposing order on it through his gift for language, the easy elegance of a master of the English sentence. The plot of this, his 15th novel, is skillfully woven and tells the story of Sebastian Reinhard, who with his mother fled Hamburg in 1939 to sail to the United States, and who returns to Germany in 1945 to assist the prosecutors at Nuremberg. After vicissitudes the young man, now an American army officer, makes a double discovery: He learns the truth about both his father's fate and his own heritage.

Nuremberg is a work of fiction, not a polemical essay; but the book raises important (and timely) questions about the kind of justice defeated bad guys deserve. There is an illuminating moment when Lieutenant Reinhard is ushered into the office of one of the prosecutors working under Robert H. Jackson, the American chief counsel at Nuremberg. "Looking for my law library?" Captain Carver, a military lawyer, asks his visitor. "Well, let me tell you something. There *is no library* for what we're up to. I mean, the IMT—that's the International Military Tribunal—is something *brand new*."

The "judicial and moral imaginations" had come together, Buckley writes, to try "to write into the empty spaces of international law a fresh covenant: that war crimes were definable. And punishable as criminal behavior." How far they succeeded remains a question. If *Nuremberg* traces the evolution of Lieutenant Reinhard's understanding of himself, it also uncovers those deficiencies in comprehension that undermined the efforts of Reinhard's superiors to prosecute the surviving Nazi leaders in the Palace of Justice.

Nothing could have been more devastating to the cause of those defendants than the footage of the death camps that Justice Jackson (on leave from the U.S. Supreme Court) arranged to have shown in open court. The film laid bare the reality of the Nazi charnelworks, the death vaults, the gas pipes, the furnaces. It exposed, Buckley writes, "butchery, torture, starvation." Anyone who views those scenes and is not a moral blockhead instinctively feels that those responsible for the degradation deserved the gibbet. The task of the Nuremberg tribunal was

Mr. Beran is the author of *The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of American Aristocracy*.

BooksNow
To order these books, (24hrs, 365 days) please call (800) 962-6651 (Ext. 3700) or visit us at http://www.booksnow.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to turn this felt inarticulate revulsion into solid blocks of judicial masonry.

At a minimum the Allied lawyers needed to explain what the limits of acceptable conduct are, and to show that the Nazi leaders transgressed them. This work of drawing distinctions between different kinds of acts would have helped the world to understand why, for example, bombing campaigns in which civilians die are in certain circumstances within the civilized pale, but extermination camps are not. The Allied lawyers, however, shrank from this work; Buckley's novel is, in part, the story of their intellectual timidity, their inability to move from rhetoric to analysis. The crimes alleged in the indictments were broadly and inexactly defined; the briefs were loosely and hastily constructed. Goering, that crafty voluptuary, took advantage of the intellectual confusion. The former commander of the Luftwaffe was now, after months of incarceration, less grotesquely obese than he had been at the height of his power, but his features, those of a bloated mandarin, retained their look of cruel refinement. He languidly turned Jackson's questions against the prosecution. Within "what seemed like mere minutes," Buckley writes, his "dialectical prowess had apparently unsettled" the lead American counsel.

What went wrong? It is important to remember that Nuremberg was not simply an exercise in applying law; it was an exercise in making law. And something more than a legal imagination is required to make laws. The prosecutors, ambitious after the manner of the American law courts, were eager to rack up convictions, and the hurry that is written into their pleadings was evident, too, in the shallowness of their legal trowel-work, their contentedness with the surfaces of malignant action. Busy they were; but lazy in their imagination of their role.

Effective lawmakers are like good gardeners; they get at the root of the weed. The Allied lawyers merely plucked at the fruit. They concentrated narrowly on Nazi malfeasances during the war. This was a mistake; the wartime conduct of the Germans was only one manifestation of the deeper evils of the Nazi regime. The Allied lawyers strained over specific bad acts; they never dug down to the more profound corruption of the root-stock. To discover the fundamental crime of the German revolution, it is necessary to look beyond the ugliness of the war. It is necessary to examine the philosophy of Hitler, and to come to terms with his repudiation of civilization's ongoing labor to find ways to sustain each individual human life: to cherish it as a thing of beauty, "a garden inclosed," in the language of the Scriptures.

■

Buckley's haunting, chastening book forces the reader to confront the Nazis' bloody revival of paganism.

■

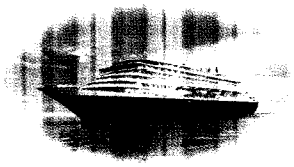
It is true, of course, that many peoples professing to honor the master-principle of human flourishing have failed to live up to it. But there is a difference between a falling-off from an ideal and its deliberate repudiation. The Nazi enormities, bad as they are in themselves, were made infinitely worse by the intention and purpose that underlay them. Those acts cannot be ascribed to inadvertence, or carelessness, or overzealous subalterns; nor can they be blamed on the heat and passion of the moment, the exigencies of battle, or the imperative of self-defense. They were the logical consequence of the constitution and orthodoxies of the National Socialist state, the dogmas that held that certain classes of people possess no human beauty, or too small a share of it to justify their continued existence on earth. (The dogmas of the competitor revolutionary creed, of course, held that, whatever beauty an individual soul might possess, such loveliness was not enough to justify its continued existence if it stood in the way of the surpassingly beautiful world the revolutionaries intended to create. One of the defects of the Nuremberg tribunal, Buckley's novel suggests, is that representatives of the competitor creed—Stalin's liege men—acted as prosecutors and sat as judges in the Palace of Justice.)

Should it be a crime to participate in the work of a state—*any* state, not just the Nazi one—that has repudiated both a civilized ideal and the numerous correlative principles that flow from it? This is the question the Nuremberg lawyers needed to reach but didn't. The tribunal's definition of "crimes against humanity"—a definition that encompasses "inhumane acts committed against civilian populations"—does not help us to distinguish between the actions of the Nazis and those excesses, mistakes, and heat-of-the-battle decisions that, however terrible they may be, do not reflect a calculated and deliberate attempt to deny human dignity, and so do not call into question the legitimacy of the moral architecture of the regime under which they occur.

The Nuremberg tribunal, had it attempted to draw these distinctions, must have ended by establishing a law of the rogue state. The work of creating a code setting forth the characteristics of malicious authority would have been a truly useful one, as valuable now as then. Under such a statute, a state that systematically denied people the various protections of life, liberty, and property would risk outlawry. Its governors would be answerable to the world. The promulgation of such an ordinance might have helped take the world beyond a moral relativism—not yet extinguished—that uncritically equates the actions of the United States with those of Nazi Germany or Soviet Russia. Buckley, in his book, hints at the way the Allied lawyers connived at the perpetuation of these fallacies by failing, at Nuremberg, to expose the barrenness of that logic.

There is a scene in the novel in which Buckley describes what happened after the footage of the death camps was shown in the Palace of Justice. The screen went blank, and for a time there was silence. "Then Sebastian could hear the general murmur of horror, and a ululation from someone in the spectators' gallery." The *ululo*—literally, the shriek of the screech-owl—is the cry of women at the pagan sacrifice, the *ololugê* of the ancient Greeks. In *Nuremberg* the wail is a dirge for the six million. Justice Jackson's declamations were not adequate to those griefs; perhaps nothing can be. This haunting, chastening book forces the reader to rethink the meaning of that bloody revival of paganism six and seven decades ago; but though it is rich in history the novel is not merely historical in its reach. With subtlety and skill it brings the reader to reflect, not simply on how men and women in the past confronted the evil in and around them, but on how we ourselves do today. **NR**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



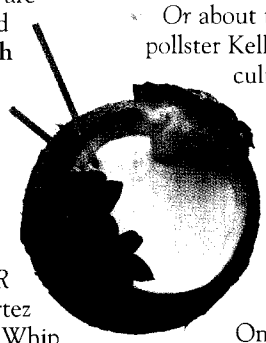
THE NATIONAL REVIEW 2002 POST-ELECTION MEXICO CRUISE

Sailing November 16–23 aboard Holland America's MS *Ryndam* with

KENNETH STARR, MILTON FRIEDMAN, WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR, ARTHUR LAFFER, KATE O'BEIRNE, RICH LOWRY, CAL THOMAS, KELLYANNE CONWAY, JAY NORDLINGER, DINESH D'SOUZA, RAMESH PONNURU; TOM DELAY AND DAN QUAYLE ALSO EXPECTED!

Here's your special opportunity to take part in one of the most exciting seafaring adventures you will ever experience: the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise.** Featuring an incredible cast of conservative celebrity speakers—and extremely affordable accommodations—this special trip will take place November 16–23, 2002, aboard Holland America Line's stunning MS *Ryndam*.

This is a *unique* opportunity to meet America's most preeminent conservative celebrities: "Definites" for this special voyage are Judge **Kenneth Starr**, economists **Milton Friedman** and **Arthur Laffer**, columnist **Cal Thomas**, author **Dinesh D'Souza**, and ace pollster **Kellyanne Conway**. They'll be joining *NR* founder **William F. Buckley Jr.**, Editor **Rich Lowry**, Washington Editor **Kate O'Beirne**, Senior Editor **Ramesh Ponnuru**, and Managing Editor **Jay Nordlinger** for a relaxing week of political shop-talk, conservative revelry, and world-class cruising.



Also "strongly interested" in joining the hundreds of *NR* readers who'll take our trip to the sun-drenched Sea of Cortez are former Vice President **Dan Quayle** and House Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**. Without question, that's an *incredible* line-up.

Not only will our Mexico sojourn feature a spectacular speaker ensembles—it will also be the most affordable *NR* voyage ever (this will be our 12th!). If you've never been on an *NR* cruise make this your *first:* Prices start at an *incredibly* low $1,999!

An *NR* cruise is your chance to meet and intimately discuss politics and policy with some of the true giants of conservative affairs. Our exciting seminars—we've scheduled five panel sessions on our Mexico sojourn—allow for ample audience "Q & A," providing a scintillating take on current events. Imagine:

Where does one even begin to ask Ken Starr questions?!

Who better than renowned Nobel Prize-winning economist Milton Friedman and Arthur Laffer—the man behind that most famous of curves—to discuss America's fiscal health?!

Can you get better insight on the Bush administration and the prosecution of the War on Terrorism than from Dan Quayle?!

Or about what's *really* happening on Capitol Hill than from Tom DeLay?!

Or about the public's mood on major issues than from ace pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick?!—*or* better analysis on America's culture conflicts than from columnist Cal Thomas or author Dinesh D'Souza?!

These conservative giants will be joined in political elucidating and sharp-shooting by *NR*'s editorial heavyweights, led by William F. Buckley Jr., who will be ably assisted by Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, and Jay Nordlinger.

On top of the exclusive "extras" *NR* offers—seminars and social events (we'll have three cocktail receptions and two late-night poolside "smokers" featuring **H. Upmann** cigars), and intimate dining with speakers—is a *great* cruise on a *great* ship. The *Ryndam* is one of the more beloved vessels of Holland America Line (which readers of *Travel & Leisure* last year voted the world's Highest-Rated Premium Cruise Line!).

On the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** you'll find the *Ryndam*'s accommodations (elegant staterooms and glamorous public spaces teeming with antiques) to be truly luxurious, and matched by the indulgent, courteous staff, superior cuisine, and top-notch entertainment and excursions.

A FANTASTIC WEEK OF FUN, SUN, AND CONSERVATIVE REVELRY

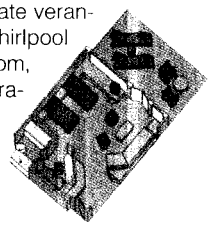
DAY/DATE	PORT	ARRIVE	DEPART	SPECIAL EVENTS
Sat/Nov. 16	San Diego		6:00PM	
Sun/Nov. 17	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Mon/Nov. 18	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night poolside smoker
Tues/Nov. 19	Loreto	7:00AM	5:00PM	
Wed/Nov. 20	Pichilingue/La Paz	8:00AM	6:00PM	evening cocktail reception
Thur/Nov. 21	Cabo San Lucas	7:00AM	4:00PM	afternoon seminar late-night smoker
Fri/Nov. 22	AT SEA			afternoon seminar evening cocktail reception
Sat/Nov. 23	San Diego	8:00AM		

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OVER 160 CABINS RESERVED ALREADY! DON'T DELAY, BOOK TODAY!
SPECTACULAR STATEROOMS STARTING AT ONLY $1,999 P/P!

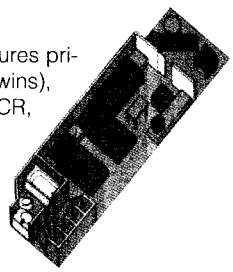
Travel experts agree: Holland America Line offers high-valued premium cruising. Superior service, gourmet cuisine, elegant accommodations, and great entertainment await you on the beautiful *Ryndam*. Prices are per-person, based on double occupancy, and include port fees, taxes, gratuities, transfers (for those booking airfare through HAL), all meals, entertainment, and admittance to and participation in all *National Review* functions. Rates for third/fourth person in cabin: $1,199 p/p for ages 2 and older, $752 p/p for children younger than 2.

SUITE Luxury quarters (563 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), whirlpool bath/shower, floor-to-ceiling windows, dressing room, large sitting area, sofa bed, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, concierge service, complimentary personalized stationery, hors d'oeuvres, dry cleaning, and more, plus special disembarkation privileges.



Category S
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 3,599 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 5,999

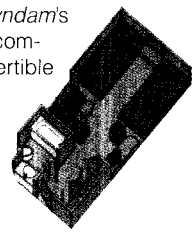
MINI SUITE Large stateroom (284 sq. ft.) features private verandah, king-size bed (convertible to 2 twins), sofa bed, whirlpool bath/shower, sitting area, VCR, mini-bar, refrigerator, floor-to-ceiling windows.



Categories A and B
"A" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999 P/P
"A" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,599

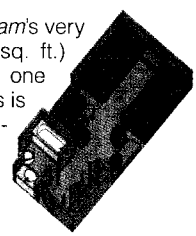
"B" DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,899 P/P
"B" SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 4,299

LARGE OUTSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s large "Outside Staterooms" (197 sq. ft.) are comfortable and feature a queen-size bed (convertible to 2 twin beds), a large picture window, plus bath/shower combination.



Category D
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,499 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,999

LARGE INSIDE STATEROOM The *Ryndam*'s very accommodating "Inside Staterooms," (182 sq. ft.) offer 2 twin beds that are convertible to one queen-size bed, plus a bath with shower. This is a very affordable category designed to provide you with maximum comfort.



Category K
DOUBLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 1,999 P/P
SINGLE OCCUPANCY RATE: $ 2,599

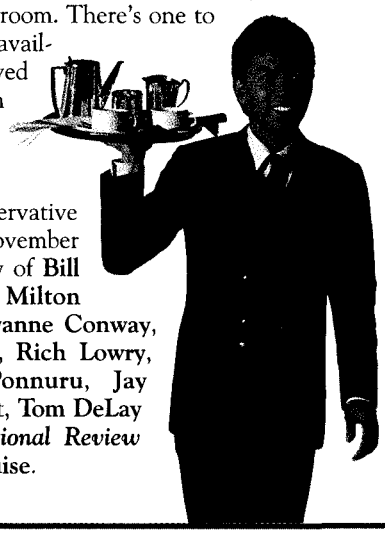
You'll want to join us for the exciting political discussions, the luxurious cruise experience, and the rest and relaxation you so richly deserve. *And* for the remarkable destinations. The ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise** will feature a balmy itinerary, starting in San Diego and—over seven glorious days around the "Baja California Sur"—visiting beautiful **Loreto, La Paz** (and nearby **Pichilingue**) and **Cabo San Lucas** (plus scenic cruising of "Sierra de la Giganta"). Here are some port highlights:

LORETO: *Frommer's Mexico 2002* guide puts it best: Loreto "is a rare gem that sparkles under the desert sky. Here, the purple hues of the Giganta Mountains meet the indigo waters of the Sea of Cortez, providing a spectacular backdrop of natural contrasts for the town's historical past." Site of the first mission in the Californias (*Mision Nuestra Señora de Loreto* and *Museo de las Misiones* are must-sees) and the first European settlement on the Baja, Loreto remains, says *Frommer's*, "the wonderfully funky fishing village and well-kept secret that it has been for decades."

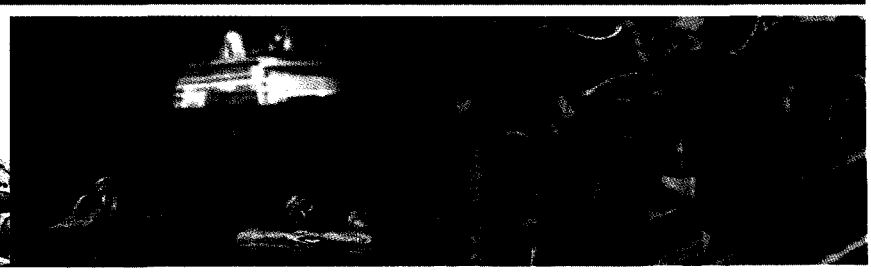
LA PAZ/PICHILINGUE: "La Paz," says *Frommer's*, "means 'peace,' and the feeling seems to float on the ocean breezes" here. It "remains slow-paced and relaxed . . . an easy-going sophisticated city and the guardian of 'old Baja' atmosphere, with beautiful deserted beaches just minutes away that compliment the lively beach and malecón that fronts the town center." Best known from John Steinbeck's *The Pearl*, La Paz—a haven for kayaking, fishing, and diving (you can even swim with sea lions off Espíritu Santo and Los Islotes)—is "the undisputed adventure capital of Baja."

CABO SAN LUCAS: Once renowned for big-game fishing, Cabo San Lucas is now a mecca for golf (there are Jack Nicklaus- and Robert Trent Jones-designed courses here—we'll be setting up an exclusive *NR* outing for any wanna-duffers), kayaking, and superior "R&R"-ing on gorgeous beaches.

Over 160 cabins have been reserved, many by *NR* cruise "alumni" (they come back again and again because of the wonderful experiences our trips provide). Sign up today and join them for on what will be one of the best weeks you will ever enjoy. Just fill out the application form on the following page, and return it (by mail or fax) so you can secure your stateroom. There's one to fit everyone's taste and budget (available on a first come, first served basis). You'll also find pricing on Holland America's affordable "Fly Cruise" airfare program.



Take part in a truly special conservative event. Join us in Mexico this November on the *Ryndam*, in the company of **Bill Buckley, Kenneth Starr, Milton Friedman, Arthur Laffer, Kellyanne Conway, Cal Thomas, Dinesh D'Souza, Rich Lowry, Kate O'Beirne, Ramesh Ponnuru, Jay Nordlinger**, and, we're confident, **Tom DeLay** and **Dan Quayle**—on the ***National Review* 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise**.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Review 2002 Post-Election Mexico Cruise Application

Mail to: National Review Cruise, The Cruise Authority, 1307 Powers Ferry Rd., Marietta, GA 30067-5409 or Fax to 770-916-1425

Please fill out application completely and mail with deposit check or fax with credit-card information. One application per cabin. If you want more than one cabin, make copies of this application. For questions call The Cruise Authority at 800-707-1634.

Personal

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #1 (full legal name) + Nickname

Shirt size (M/L/XL)

Name #2 (full legal name) + Nickname

Names #3 & #4 (if taking others in your cabin)

Street Mailing Address

( )

City State ZIP

Daytime Phone

Special Information (medical conditions, celebrating anniversary, etc.)

Payment

A deposit of $700 per cabin is due with this application. Cabins and categories are available on a first come, first served basis. *Suites are limited!*

☐ My deposit of $350 per person is included.
(Make checks payable to "National Review Cruise")

☐ Charge to: AmEx ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard ☐ Discover

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Expiration Date (Month) ☐☐ (Year) ☐☐

Authorized Signature of Cardholder/Guest

Information and price quote on Cancellation Fee Waiver/Medical Insurance will accompany your statement. Cancellation Penalty Schedule follows (cancellations must be received in writing by the date indicated):

PRIOR *to June 14, 2002*	*$50 per person*	
June 14, 2002 to August 16, 2002	*$350 per person*	
AFTER *August 16, 2002*	*100% of cruise/package*	04/08/NR

Cruise

(All rates are per person, double occupancy, and include all port charges and taxes, all gratuities, meals, entertainment, and *National Review* activities. Cruise-only rates include all of above except airfare and transfers. Failure to appear for embarkation for any reason constitutes a cancellation subject to full penalties. Personal items not included.)

PLEASE CHECK ALL APPLICABLE BOXES!

I. CABIN CATEGORY *(see list and prices on previous page)*

First cabin category choice:_____ Second cabin category choice:_____

Bedding: Beds made up as ☐ Twin ☐ King/Queen

BOOKING SINGLE? ☐ Please try to match me with a roommate. (My age: ____)

II. AIR/TRANSFER PACKAGES

☐ We will provide our own roundtrip air and transfers to and from San Diego.
☐ Include air with our package from _____ (see list below).
☐ We need to purchase transfers from the airport to the ship at $20 per person.

III. GENERAL INFORMATION

CITIZENSHIP: Is everyone a U.S. citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If No, indicate citizenship: _____
DINING: I wish to dine with _____

DINNER: ☐ 8:15PM ☐ 6:15PM (conflicts with dining with speakers/events)

IV. PRE- AND POST-CRUISE TOUR PACKAGES

☐ Please send me information on pre-/post-cruise packages in San Diego.

Important!

Everyone cruising will be required to bring either a valid passport OR a certified birth certificate (with raised seal!), plus photo ID. Failure to do so may result in being denied boarding of the *Ryndam*. Children do not require photo ID.

Responsibility: Notice is hereby given that the cruise advertised herein, including all tickets, vouchers and coupons issued and all arrangements for transportation or conveyance or for hotel or lodging or for sightseeing services are made by H20 Ltd. d/b/a The Cruise Authority (TCA) on behalf of National Review, as agency for Holland America Line (HAL), and/or service providers and/or suppliers providing services necessary for operation of the tour upon the express condition that TCA shall not be liable for injury, damage, loss, accident, delay or irregularity to any tour participant or his or her property that may result from any act or omission of any company, contractor or employee thereof providing services in connection with the tour, including but not limited to transportation, lodging, food and beverage, entertainment, sightseeing, luggage handling and tour guiding. Furthermore, TCA cannot be held responsible for delays or costs incurred resulting from weather and road connections, breakdowns, strikes, riots, acts of God, authority of law or other circumstances beyond its control. In the event that a participant be entitled to a refund of monies paid, TCA will not be liable in excess of amount paid. TCA reserves the right to decline any persons as a tour participant at any time. TCA is not responsible for price increases imposed by HAL and/or service providers. Such increases may be implemented prior to deposit received. TCA is not responsible for breach of contract or any intentional or careless actions or omissions on the part of HAL and/or service providers, such as suppliers of tours or other services used or obtained on or at the time of the cruise or shore excursions, which result in any loss, damage, delay or injury to you or your travel companions or group members. TCA does not guarantee any of such suppliers rates, booking or reservations and TCA shall not be responsible for any social or labor unrest, mechanical or construction difficulties, diseases, local laws, climate conditions, abnormal conditions or developments or any other actions, omissions or conditions outside of TCA's control. TCA, nor National Review shall be responsible for the accessibility, appearance, actions or decisions of those individuals promoted for this cruise. By embarking upon his or her travel, the traveler voluntarily assumes all risks, and is advised to obtain appropriate insurance coverage against them. Retention of tickets, reservations, or package after issuance shall constitute a consent to the above and an agreement on your part to convey the contents hereof to your travel companions.

AIR TRAVEL: Let us make your air travel arrangements with **Holland America's "Fly Cruise" Program**, which offers a convenient air program that includes round-trip, economy-class air transportation (First Class air is available on request; you cannot use frequent flyer points to upgrade these airfares to First Class), and all baggage transfers, from the following cities:

AL	Birmingham	669	FL	Jacksonville	549	KS	Wichita	549	MO	Springfield	619	NC	Raleigh/Durham	689	SC	Columbia	689	VA	Richmond	689
	Huntsville	679		Miami	599	KY	Lexington	619		St. Louis	559	OK	Oklahoma City	619		Greenville	689		Roanoke	689
	Mobile	599		Orlando	599		Louisville	619	MT	Billings	519		Tulsa	619	TX	Amarillo	619	WA	Seattle	379
AR	Little Rock	549		Pensacola	689	LA	Baton Rouge	619	NE	Omaha	619	OH	Akron	619		Austin	559		Spokane	479
AZ	Phoenix	289		Tampa	609		New Orleans	549	NV	Las Vegas	309		Cincinnati	549		Corpus Christi	549	WI	Madison	619
	Tucson	289	GA	Augusta	689		Shreveport	619		Reno	289		Cleveland	559		Dallas/Ft. Worth	539		Milwaukee	549
CA	Fresno	319		Atlanta	599	ME	Bangor	689	NJ	Newark	609		Columbus	539		El Paso	549			
	Los Angeles	259	HI	Honolulu	809		Portland	689	NM	Albuquerque	519		Dayton	619		Houston (IAH)	539		CANADA ($USD)	
	Oakland	289	ID	Boise	519	MD	Baltimore	599	NY	Albany	689		Toledo	619		Lubbock	619		Calgary	589
	Sacramento	289	IL	Chicago	549	MA	Boston	669		Binghamton	669	OR	Medford	369		Midland/Odessa	579		Edmonton	589
	San Francisco	289		Peoria	619		Worcester	689		Buffalo	679		Portland	379		San Antonio	539		Montreal	669
	San Jose	289		Springfield	619	MI	Detroit	549		New York	609	PA	Allentown	609	TN	Chattanooga	619		Ottawa	679
CO	Col. Springs	519	IN	Evansville	619		Grand Rapids	619		Rochester	689		Harrisburg	689		Knoxville	619		Quebec	719
	Denver	529		Ft. Wayne	619	MN	Mnpls/St. Paul	559		Syracuse	6859		Philadelphia	599		Memphis	619		Toronto	659
CT	Hartford	609		Indianapolis	549		Rochester	619	NC	Asheville	679		Pittsburgh	599		Nashville	619		Vancouver	439
DC	Washington	609	IA	Cedar Rapids	619	MS	Jackson	669		Charlotte	679	RI	Providence	689	UT	Salt Lake City	459		Victoria	559
FL	Fort Lauderdale	609		Des Moines	559	MO	Kansas City	549		Greensboro	689	SC	Charleston	689	VA	Norfolk	669		Winnipeg	619

IMPORTANT NOTES: 1. These air add-ons apply to the cruise or cruise + pre- or post-cruise package. All transfers for air/sea passengers are included. 2. Should you elect to provide your own air transportation, note that transfers from the airport to the Ryndam (Port of San Diego near downtown) are not included; the distance from airport to cruise ship is very close. Schedule your arrival in San Diego leaving plenty of time for flight delay! You should arrive in San Diego no later than 2:00pm on November 16th. Your return flight from San Diego should not be arranged before 11:00am on November 23rd. 3. Should you wish to deviate your air from the "standard" schedule, Holland America Line charges $50pp for this service. All requests must be sent in writing to The Cruise Authority. Air deviation fees are non-refundable. 4. Any special seat assignments or other requests must be made directly with the participating air carrier. You will receive your air schedule approximately 30 days prior to departure date. 5. Transfers are available for purchase from the San Diego airport for $20 per person, and must be arranged for in advance via The Cruise Authority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Lady's Testament

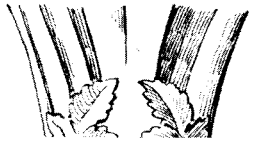
GEORGE JONAS

Statecraft: Strategies for a Changing World, by Margaret Thatcher (HarperCollins, 486 pp., $34.95)

MARGARET THATCHER belongs to that exceedingly small group of political figures whose influence has clearly improved the world, or at least prevented (or delayed) it from becoming worse. Francis Fukuyama's famous "end of history" thesis may be open to debate, but it could not be postulated at all, not even as a flight of academic fancy, if not for Lady Thatcher. Without her presence (along with Ronald Reagan and Pope John Paul II) on the world stage during the crucial decade from 1979 to 1989, the proposition that global capitalism and, as its concomitant, liberal democracy are the last word in human social organization would be not debatable, as it now is, but a nullity.

Thatcher's new book (written with the assistance of Robin Harris) views the post–Cold War world from the vantage point of one who played a key role in shaping it. The book's eleven chapters lead the reader through the geopolitical high points of the decade since the fall of the Soviet Union; the last chapter, "Capitalism and Its Critics," concludes that "we should celebrate the triumph of global free-enterprise capitalism" and make its benefits available "through open trade to all the nations of the earth." Considering Thatcher's life work, this conclusion is hardly surprising, but then *Statecraft* is not a mystery; rather than a "whodunit," it is a "howdunit." The question is not where we are, but how we got here.

After meticulously building her thesis in a given section, the author displays a practical streak by offering her conclusions in one-line summaries, often prescriptive in nature, e.g.: "Refuse to put liberal doctrine ahead of military effectiveness"; "We must continue to cooperate with Russia in resisting Islamist extremism in Central Asia"; and "Britain should not contemplate giving up the pound." Even when not strictly prescriptive, her summaries are exhortative: "Don't fall into the trap of imagining that the West can remake societies." Or, when talking about China's leaders: "We have to remember that they enjoy their present position through the Communist Party's monopoly of power, which they are, therefore, highly unlikely to abandon willingly."



If these admonitions make Thatcher sound somewhat like a motivational speaker, it certainly removes any possibility of a reader's getting lost in her ratiocination and mistaking her conclusion. In addition, like those Latin tags that used to infuriate us in school, her summaries have the redeeming feature of being true. *Via trita, via tutissima*: The beaten path is safest. Tags may be trite, but—as all politicians know—catch phrases have a way of becoming rallying cries.

Thatcher clearly does not suffer fools gladly. Sometimes she sounds as though she may not suffer even wise people gladly if they disagree with her, but perhaps this is forgivable in a person who has so often been right in greatly important matters. The woman who has been described as Britain's greatest peacetime leader has no patience with those who would "suppress national differences" or try to "amalgamate different nations with different traditions into artificial states": She believes that their efforts are not only futile, but likely to lead to bloodshed. "The wise statesman will celebrate nationhood and use it," she writes. A cynic might observe that this is precisely what Slobodan Milosevic did. The ready reply is that Milosevic did not use nationhood but misused it, which is what put him in the prisoner's dock.

But, some may press, Milosevic is facing a tribunal in The Hague only because he lost. This raises the idea of "victor's justice," a concept on which Thatcher has fascinating views. She writes: "The Nuremberg trials were attacked at the time as 'victor's justice.' And this is precisely what they were and were intended to be. Far from being staged by uninvolved outsiders, they were organised by the powers which together had defeated and occupied Germany. It was these occupying powers which now exercised sovereignty there."

She continues: "Why is all this so important? Because those now advocating ever greater intrusions of international justice into the affairs of sovereign nations repeatedly claim that in some sense they are building upon and fulfilling the aims of Nuremberg. And this is quite wrong." In other words, Nuremberg was justice based on *sovereignty*, the sovereignty of the victorious occupying powers. It was not justice based on some supranational body superseding sovereignty, such as the proposed International Criminal Court in The Hague. "For the victors of the Cold War," writes Thatcher, "to submit to an unelected, unaccountable, and almost certainly hostile body such as that envisaged would be the ultimate irony." The question of sovereignty leads directly to Thatcher's Euroskepticism. She declares that "we in Britain should fundamentally reassess our relationship with the rest of the [European Union] and renegotiate it in order to secure our national interests and sovereignty."

Mr. Jonas is a Canadian writer. His columns appear in the *National Post* and are syndicated by Southam News Service.

DEIRDRE

She leans toward the brightening shore
Breaking through mist
As the souls of the dead talk to her
And one gull rides her wrist,
Not a mere girl but a wraith.

Nothing but skin and bones—
Dark hair blown over her face
Paler than death itself,
Bearing through spray
All the doomed features of the race.

—RICHARD O'CONNELL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Peggy Noonan has described one of Thatcher's most splendid insights: "The way she saw it, part of England's purpose, part of its historic mission, had been to stop the bad ideas of Europe from jumping quickly and completely across the Atlantic." This is absolutely correct—though one wishes that Britain had been a more efficient filter: Europe's bad ideas have always crossed the Atlantic with more facility than Europe's good ideas. In spite of this, America may be ahead of the game because it tended to improve Europe's bad ideas, while Europe usually made a pig's breakfast of the American ideas it adopted. (Look, for example, at the United States of Europe.) Mark Twain pointed out this phenomenon more than a hundred years ago: "As a rule we develop a borrowed European idea forward, and Europe develops a borrowed American idea backwards."

■

Thatcher's ideas have become part of the fabric of the times.

■

It is easier to admire historical analysis or social commentary when one agrees with it, but one can be impressed with Thatcher's analysis without agreeing with her conclusion. For instance, she writes that she tried to slow down what she describes as "the rush to German unification," in concert with Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev and French president François Mitterrand. I think it is just as well that she did not succeed (though some former West Germans might disagree), but what really impresses in this sequence is her knack for reducing complex issues to their essence. It takes courage to be what intellectuals like to dismiss as "simplistic," and Thatcher has courage to spare. One cannot dispute the force or accuracy of this observation: "The Germans are a cultured and talented people; but in the past they have shown a marked inability to limit their ambitions or respect their neighbours." This is simply true, and it needs to be stated periodically, whether or not one draws the same conclusion from it as Thatcher did at the time of reunification.

I happen to agree with most of *Statecraft*'s prescriptive summaries (boldfaced, literally, for the reader's convenience, though some may find this schoolmarmish and off-putting)—but it is for a different reason that I think the book should be in everyone's library: It would be unwise to come to a conclusion on a sociopolitical matter, international or domestic, without seeing whether Thatcher has anything to say about it, even if in the end one rejected her counsel. She has her finger on the pulse of our sickly times. Whether one chooses to adopt her cures or not, one should not be ignorant of them.

The book is laid out simply and attractively. I am especially grateful that the footnotes are literally footnotes, appearing at the foot of the page; I detest the publishing fashion that has made footnotes into endnotes (or end-of-chapter notes) on the assumption that most readers are not interested in them anyway. The Thatcher book's layout encourages everyone to read the footnotes, rewarding the reader in both intended and unintended ways: An amusing typo (at least one hopes it is a typo) on page 262 describes Karl von Clausewitz as a "Prussian military terrorist [not "theorist"] and soldier."

Statecraft is not so much a summary of the political legacy of Thatcherism as it is an interesting addendum to it. It is revealing that the word "Thatcherism" can be used as a noun; no other 20th-century British leader's name could be used in this manner. "Asquithism," "Macmillanism," or "Edenism" would be meaningless; even Sir Winston's name lends itself only to the adjectival form "Churchillian." This alone shows how much Thatcher's ideas have become part of the fabric of the times—certainly in Britain, but also beyond. As John O'Sullivan put it recently: "Tony Blair is Margaret Thatcher on Prozac." One wishes the line were not only amusing but true, which it isn't quite, but it's close enough to irk the Left. In a way it wouldn't matter if Thatcher's legacy passed on to Labour rather than to the Conservatives; after all, there has never been anything wrong with the Left except for its policies and ideas. **NR**

The Fusionist

RAMESH PONNURU

Principles and Heresies: Frank S. Meyer and the Shaping of the American Conservative Movement, by Kevin J. Smant (ISI, 425 pp., $29.95)

FOR fifty years, most American conservatives have stood for three basic propositions: that American foreign policy should seek to end totalitarian regimes; that the domestic functions of government, and especially of the federal government, should be strictly limited; and that the moral precepts traditionally associated with Christianity (sometimes the formulation includes Judaism as well) should be upheld.

These propositions attracted distinct, though overlapping, constituencies to conservatism: defense hawks, libertarians, social conservatives. The coalition thus created has achieved some political success. Arguably, it had something to do with the achievement of its paramount goal, the overthrow of Communism.

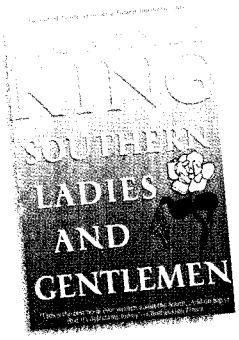
But whether the coalition made sense in terms other than those of expedience has always been disputed. Sometimes, it has been disputed by people who accept one or more of the conservative propositions but reject others. Some libertarians, for example, opposed the Cold War. Often, the intellectual coherence of conservatism has been challenged by people who shelter under none of its tents. Thus liberals charge that there is a deep contradiction between advocating low taxes and condemning low morals.

In the founding generation of modern American conservatism, no one tried harder to answer that charge than Frank Meyer. Meyer attempted to show that traditionalism and libertarianism were indeed compatible and that both were necessary. He succeeded in persuading most conservatives. His thought became, to a large extent, the philosophical basis for American conservatism. But conservatism has grown less philo-

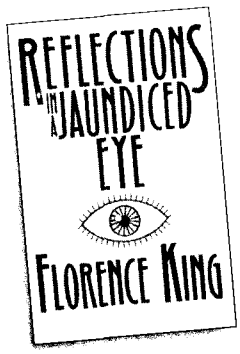
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

She's America's Misanthrope.
She's the Queen of Spleen.
She's Florence King.

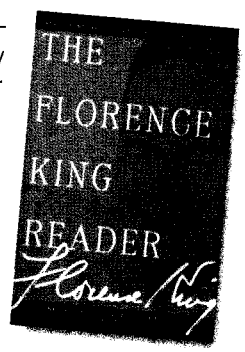
Get this Curmudgeon's Classics Direct from *National Review*



Southern Ladies and Gentlemen The guide to the ways and means of Southern culture. King wields her terrible swift stiletto to slice through the kudzu of Dixie manners and archetypes, including the Southern Woman, the Self-Rejuvenating Virgin, and the Good Ole Boy. "This is the best book ever written about the South. . . . And on top of that it's delectably funny."—*Chattanooga Times* **$12.95/quality paperback.**

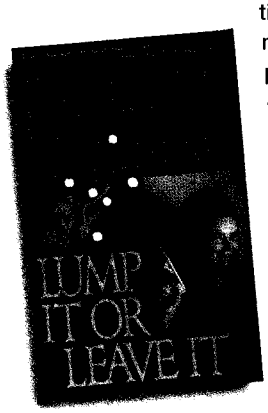


Reflections in a Jaundiced Eye King administers industrial-strength smelling salts to rouse any spirit that's been overcome by the smog of "caring 'n' compassion." This collection of brilliant essays dishes out curmudgeon justice by exalting the likes of Good King Herod and Spinsterhood while abasing the culturally malignant (including "Democrazy" and the "Cult of Helpism"). "To say that Florence King doesn't suffer fools gladly is an understatement akin to suggesting that Fred Astaire could maneuver quite nicely on the dance floor."—*People* **$8.95/quality paperback.**

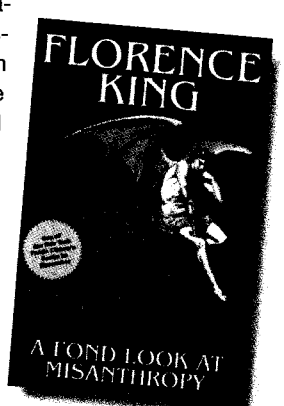


The Florence King Reader This wallop-packing, 200-proof best-of will leave literary livers cirrhotic as punch-drunk readers beg for another round. From her biting essays and *NR* columns to her icon-smashing reviews and book selections (including a chapter from her long-lost historical novel, *The Barbarian Princess*), this King-size collection is a must for aficionados and neophytes. "One of the few contemporary American essayists of sufficient pungency and wit to be almost always worth reading."—*Washington Post* **$13.95/quality paperback.**

Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady The unrivaled account of growing up in an eccentric Southern family (read it and you'll know why Little Florence would have been beloved by even W. C. Fields). Hailed as one of the best memoirs ever written, and rightly so; this true tale of Granny's gone-awry attempt to raise Florence as a Perfect Southern Lady overflows with wit, gusto, bawdiness, and flat-out unsurpassed writing. This peek into the rearing of America's reigning misanthrope is a must for any King fan, and anyone who enjoys an uproarious read. "A stunning book, a masterpiece."—*Los Angeles Times* **$12.95/quality paperback.**



Lump It or Leave It King gives no quarter in these acid-laced reflections on American tomfoolery. From the joys of menopause to the hazards of fame, from college professors ("incapable of earning a living with either their minds or their hands") and the U.S. government ("the crude leading the crud") to that favorite of subjects, the South ("if at first you don't secede, try, try, again"), there are few blockheads or brainless trends left standing after Miss Anthrope has her way with them. "The scent of sulphur and brimstone wafts off the page. . . . venom on a par with Dorothy Parker's literary bite."—*Chicago Sun-Times* **$10.95/quality paperback.**



With Charity Toward None: A Fond Look at Misanthropy America's unreconstructed people-hater gleefully separates the weak from the chafing in this masterpiece on *la vie misanthrope* ranging from Timon of Athens to Ty Cobb. Zip open the body bags of King's victims and you'll find faux misanthropes (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Andy Rooney), closet misanthropes (Richard Nixon), and a slew of humanitarian rabble. "The only trouble with this book is that its covers are too close together."—*New York Times* **$10.95/quality paperback.**

National Review/King Books, 215 Lexington Avenue, NY, NY 10016

YES, I need a strong dose of misanthropy, so please send me the Florence King books that I've checked. I enclose total payment of $ _____ (add shipping/handling of $3.00 for first book, $1.00 for each additional book). Ship to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

- ☐ *Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady* ($12.95)
- ☐ *Southern Ladies and Gentlemen* ($12.95)
- ☐ *Lump It or Leave It* ($10.95)
- ☐ *The Florence King Reader* ($13.95)
- ☐ *Reflections in a Jaundiced Eye* ($8.95)
- ☐ *With Charity Toward None* ($10.95)

☐ Check enclosed (Make payable to *National Review.*)
☐ Please charge my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA

Acct. # _____

Exp. date _____ Signature _____

Foreign orders add $4.00 per copy. NY residents add sales tax.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sophically inclined over the years, and most young conservatives have never heard of him. For those who wish to make his acquaintance, Kevin Smant's new biography, appearing on the thirtieth anniversary of Meyer's death, is a good place to start.

Like so many of his generation of conservative intellectuals, the Newark-born Meyer had been a Communist—working for the party as an organizer first at Oxford and then in the Midwest. He met the woman who would be his wife, Elsie Bown, at a party class he was teaching in Chicago. In the 1940s, however, both of them began to develop ideological doubts.

In Smant's telling, the key episode came after Meyer enlisted, for both Communist and patriotic reasons, to fight the Nazis. He was quickly discharged for having flat feet. The recovery from surgery on both feet kept him immobilized for eighteen months. Naturally, he read—the *Federalist Papers*, for example, with much of which he found himself agreeing. Other readings impressed on him the strength of the West's belief in the dignity of the individual. Meyer became a sort of moderate Communist. He wanted a democratic, gradualist, and peaceful Communist party, one more deeply rooted in American tradition. For a while, he thought the party was moving in his direction; but the re-imposition of Stalinist discipline dashed those hopes. Elsie and he argued their way out of the party together.

He was briefly a Truman Democrat. But books like Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* and Richard Weaver's *Ideas Have Consequences* pushed him rightward. In addition, liberals seemed to his mind not to understand the nature of the Communist threat. Liberalism had grown too relativistic and too collectivist to grasp any longer the moral case for freedom, and thus lacked the intellectual resources to resist Communism. Worse, both major political parties now drank deeply from this liberalism.

Meyer started to write for the conservative publications *The Freeman* and *The American Mercury*. When William F. Buckley Jr. asked him to write for a magazine he was starting, Meyer accepted. For fifteen years, he served as NR's book-review editor. He also had a regular column, titled "Principles & Heresies."

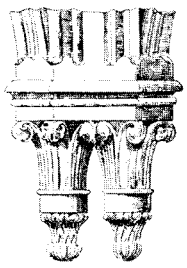
Meyer believed that he must "unremittingly trace his errors to their sources" and start over. In his columns and elsewhere—most notably in his book *In Defense of Freedom*—Meyer argued for a recovery of what he took to be the main current of the Western tradition. That tradition, he wrote, held both freedom and virtue "in balance and tension." It regarded virtue as the highest end of man, but over time it came to see freedom as both a precondition of true virtue and man's highest *political* end. Traditionalists and libertarians both objected to Communism and liberalism. Meyer claimed, however, that they had not only "a common enemy" but "a common heritage."

■

Frank Meyer's view of conservatism largely prevailed.

■

Meyer's mix of libertarianism and traditionalism came to be called "fusionism," but he didn't think he was fusing anything. America's Founders were concerned about both freedom and virtue. Only in the 19th century were these ends divided. In the aftermath of the French Revolution, classical liberals became too utilitarian and hostile to religion and tradition. In reaction to them, classical conservatives defended authoritarianism.



Both had part of the truth. The conservative—and, at the time Meyer wrote, the traditionalist—was correct in affirming the existence of an objective moral order and the importance of virtue. The classical liberals, and now the libertarians, were right to oppose statism. These truths were not at war, but merely "contrary emphases in conservatism" as Meyer was trying to define it. But either emphasis, if pursued to the exclusion of the other, risked error.

Traditionalists could slight the cause of freedom, failing to see that virtue cannot be coerced. They could fail to see that the individual was the locus of virtue. (Toward the end of his life, as he moved toward the Catholicism he would embrace on his deathbed, Meyer increasingly stressed that this failure missed the significance of the Incarnation.) They could be too critical of reason, leaving them no way to choose among traditions where conflict existed. Against Russell Kirk and Edmund Burke, Meyer wrote that "to make tradition, 'prejudice and prescription,' not along with reason but *against* reason, the sole foundation of one's position is to enshrine the maxim, 'Whatever is, is right,' as the first principle of thought about politics and society."

The characteristic error of libertarianism was to undermine "belief in an organic moral order," even though this belief was in truth "the only possible basis for respect for the integrity of the individual person and for the overriding value of his freedom." So "both extremes" were "self-defeating: truth withers when freedom dies, however righteous the authority that kills it; and free individualism uninformed by moral value rots at its core and soon brings about conditions that pave the way for surrender to tyranny."

As M. Stanton Evans notes in the foreword to Smant's book, Meyer was both a polemical and a unifying figure. He never hesitated to do intellectual battle with representatives of either "extreme" within conservatism. He also moved from theory to practice, advising Young Americans for Freedom, the American Conservative Union, and the New York Conservative Party. Arguments were also settled, and intra-conservative unity forged, in long late-night phone calls from his home in Woodstock.

Meyer's fusionism was not without critics, even within NR circles. Whittaker Chambers, in a letter to WFB, had a memorable put-down of Meyer as doctrinaire. James Burnham found him insufficiently realistic about tactics. Still, Meyer largely prevailed. His writing may have been "often heavy and stiff," as Smant rightly notes. But conservatives were ready to accept his thesis, no doubt in large part because so many of them had both libertarian and traditionalist tendencies themselves. From the 1960s on, the federal govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment gave fusionism a powerful boost by seeming to promote moral and social decay at every turn, subsidizing illegitimate births and blasphemous art.

Fusionism lingers among conservatives and Republicans to this day. Meyer's influence can be seen in Charles Murray's remark, in his book *In Pursuit*, that if Adam Smith and Edmund Burke could admire each other, why can't he admire both? In 1995, Ralph Reed, then executive director of the Christian Coalition, spoke as a fusionist in counseling the new Republican Congress that "in an essentially conservative society, traditionalist ends can be advanced through libertarian means." Around the same time, William Kristol urged conservatives to practice a "politics of liberty" and a "sociology of virtue."

The influence of fusionism has not been wholly positive. Meyer contributed to an unfortunate tendency among conservatives toward theoretical maximalism, as in his casual reference to "the totalitarian implications of the federal school lunch program." Another instance of that maximalism was his assertion that "society does not exist" (a phrase Margaret Thatcher later used). Did libertarianism really have to be founded on such extreme individualism, rather than, say, skepticism about or fear of the state?

In Meyer's thought, virtue is aligned rather too neatly with religion and tradition, and reason with libertarianism. Many "traditionalists" defend tradition precisely insofar as it embodies, and helps guide people toward, sound moral principles that are rationally defensible.

The largest problem with Meyer's synthesis is that he leans too heavily on the proposition that virtue must be freely chosen. It is true that the law cannot compel the internal assent of the will. But that truth does not by itself yield the Millian libertarian conclusions that Meyer draws from it. It does not mean, that is, that virtue is impossible under compulsion. Whether to obey the law is always a moral choice, for one thing; and one can do the right thing for the right reason even if the law provides an additional reason for doing it.

It would be pointless, in just the way Meyer supposes, for the law to attempt to compel religious belief. But there is a point to using the law to protect a moral ecology that supports people in the exercise of virtue. Laws help form character. They teach. Many times, they do so in ways compatible with strict libertarianism—by punishing some classes of unjust action, or allowing industry to be rewarded. But Meyer provides no good reason for abjuring non-libertarian morals laws in all cases.

Another reason that Meyer's fusionism is not wholly adequate as a guide to conservatives is that it was the product of his times. The notion that libertarian policies would yield a society that moral conservatives would approve was most plausible when applied to a largely traditionalist society. Ours is manifestly no longer one. The threat of "regimentation" and "planning," which Meyer understandably feared, is not what it used to be either.

Meyer also wrote at a time when America had a stronger sense of itself as a unified culture than at most points in its history, including our own. The conservative triad that he helped to develop—anti-totalitarianism, free markets, moral orthodoxy—has nothing to say about cultural cohesion, and not enough to say about patriotism. Meyer helped to produce a real novelty: a conservatism relatively indifferent to the transmission of culture down the generations.

What he did, however, was enough. Those of us who generally believe in both free markets and conservative morals have a lot to thank Meyer (and his like-minded colleagues) for. There was nothing inevitable about the way conservatism developed. It could very well have moved in a more statist direction, in which case America would probably now be weaker and poorer.

Smant summarizes Meyer's achievement well. He does, however, leave out a nice anecdote. At one of the editorial meetings, Priscilla Buckley stepped in to defuse an argument between Meyer and Burnham. Meyer turned to her and said, "You are the grease in our crankshaft." Years later, the *Washington Post* wrote a story that mentioned the incident, correcting Meyer's quote to "You're the grease on the axle." The *Post* may have known a lot about cars, Miss Buckley remarked, but not much about Frank Meyer. **NR**

A Distant Mirror

STEPHEN SCHWARTZ

The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain, by María Rosa Menocal (Little, Brown, 315 pp., $26.95)

THIS book will provide scant comfort to two loud and voluble constituencies in the contemporary world: Islamophobes and Wahhabis. By the former, I refer to those shallow types who use the horrors of Islamic extremism as a pretext to attack all of Islam and the civilization it has fostered. The latter denotes Muslims—including many in the U.S.—who justify terrorism on the basis of the fundamentalist death cult that rules Saudi Arabia. Both Islamophobes and Wahhabis seek to erase from history the evidence of centuries of pluralism within Islam—and of coexistence between Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.

This study of medieval Spain, written for a nonacademic audience, shows that a powerful Islamic society and its committed Christian opponents were once capable of contending in arms, for mas-

Mr. Schwartz is completing his book, *The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud from Tradition to Terror*, for autumn publication.

FOUNDED 1964
CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT INC.
Catholic Traditionalist Movement, Inc.
If you cannot physically attend a
TRADITIONAL LATIN ROMAN CATHOLIC MASS,
the next best thing is to join one spiritually
by visiting AN INTERNET WEBSITE WITH
AROUND-THE-CLOCK VIDEO LATIN MASS
www.latinmass-ctm.org as presented by the
CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST MOVEMENT, INC.
Father Gommar A. De Pauw, J.C.D.
Founder - President
210 Maple Avenue
Westbury, New York 11590
Tel. (516) 333-6470
Fax. (516) 333-7535

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tery of a rich territory, without losing their sense of mutual respect. Al-Andalus, the southern Iberian province in which Arab governance was consolidated, produced some of the greatest cultural achievements of Islamic civilization; architecture and philosophy are the best known. The very same region—and its fabled cities, Córdoba, Granada, and Sevilla—also nurtured the Jewish intellect, and provided a prosperous home for Christians.

Cohabitation of the three Abrahamic faiths was found throughout the Iberian peninsula during the 782 years of Muslim–Christian rivalry on its soil. Although the Christian waged a military struggle—the *Reconquista*—to regain control, Muslims continued for generations to reside in areas the Christians retook; Christians lived largely unmolested in the shrinking Muslim zone; and Jews flourished on both sides of the divide.

This was because, contrary to the legends maintained by Islamophobes and Wahhabis alike, neither the Muslim nor the Christian rulers of Spain originally saw their conflict as a religious one, and few among them practiced forcible conversion of the other. Their campaigns were wars over land, not faith, and both sides applied the principle enunciated in the Koran: There must be no compulsion in religion, and conversions should be left to the individual conscience, as expressions of God's will.

Muslim rule in Europe began in the year 711, when Berbers from North Africa, led by Syrian Arabs, crossed the strait named thereafter for their commander, Tarik. (Gibraltar is derived from "Jebel al-Tarik," the rock of Tarik.) The Christian rulers of Hispania—descendants of the Visigoths—were decadent and narrow in their outlook, and were supplanted by the new force of Islam. The great phase of Islamic al-Andalus began in 755, when a young Syrian noble, Abd al-Rahman, arrived in the land. Abd al-Rahman was the only survivor of the Umayyads, a Damascus-based dynasty that had ruled the global Islamic community for the previous hundred years. In 750, the Umayyads were overthrown and their ruling family slaughtered by the Abbasids, who moved the center of the House of Islam to a city they founded, Baghdad. Abd al-Rahman established a new Umayyad lineage in Córdoba, an old Roman town.

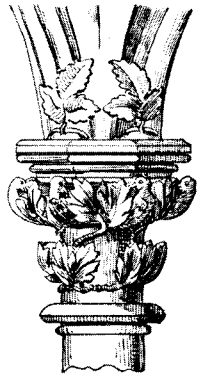
A long interfaith and intercultural dialogue ensued, until 1492, when the Catholic rulers, Ferdinand and Isabel, conquered Granada. The Muslims were granted the right to maintain their religion as a condition of their surrender of the city. But one of the first decrees of the Catholic rulers, issued only months after Granada's capitulation, ordered the expulsion of Jews unwilling to convert to Christianity. The Andalusian Muslims inevitably shared the same fate. Most of the Jews left for the Ottoman Empire, where they again flourished, while the Muslims resettled in Morocco.

■

Menocal presents the story of multi-religious Spain in a smooth and affecting manner.

■

Both communities of the expelled preserved deep cultural memories of their time in the Iberian sun. The Jews and their descendants, known as the Sephardim, have kept the use of the Spanish language up to the present day; I have heard it spoken and sung in Sarajevo. The Arabs of North Africa still love the music and other customs they call Andalusian. And Islam left a deep impress on Spanish Catholic culture: Flamenco music, and a form of improvised religious verse known as *saetas*, perpetuate Arab styles of melody and lyric.



María Rosa Menocal, who teaches at Yale, has chosen to tell this story through a series of vignettes describing outstanding individuals and events. The personalities evoked here include, among others, Abd al-Rahman; the Jewish diplomat and poet Samuel ha-Nagid, governor of the Hebrew community of Granada; Petrus Alfonsi, a Jewish convert to Christianity who traveled to England in the 12th century; the poet and chronicler Judah Halevi; the Arab philosopher Averroes (Ibn Rushd) of Córdoba; and his fellow Cordoban, the Jewish jurist Maimonides. The emphasis on prominent Jews might be interpreted as a subtextual cry of pain and protest against the fear and hatred separating, today, the offspring of Abraham's two sons—Ishmael, ancestor of the Arabs and Muslims, and Isaac, progenitor of the Jews.

The author presents her story in a smooth and affecting manner. Too often, though, she gives way to nostalgia. While this longing for an era of cultural interdependence that seems almost impossible to imagine now is perfectly understandable, it does weaken Menocal's narrative. She also betrays a superficial approach to a number of religious issues. To cite one example, she makes a superlative hero of Ibn Hazm, an 11th-century Andalusian author known today for his *Ring-Neck of the Dove*, a classical exposition of the principles of love poetry. She writes that "the viciousness of many of [Ibn Hazm's] polemics, against all sorts of people and causes, led later Muslims to approach him gingerly, or not at all." But it's worse than that: Ibn Hazm was in fact one of the most extreme and irrational fundamentalists in Islamic history, and his influence is felt to this day.

He was a follower of *Dhahiri*, an unorthodox school of literalist Islamic jurisprudence. Three commentators from the end of the 13th century said that "even those who greeted Ibn Hazm hated him. They disliked his ideas. They all agreed that he was a heretic. They could not speak well of him. They warned the rulers to beware of him. They told Muslims to keep away from him." G. F. Haddad, an historian of Islam, notes an example of Ibn Hazm's extreme literalism. Muhammad the prophet had said, quite sensibly: "Let no one urinate in still, non-running water, [and] then use it to bathe." From this, Haddad writes, Ibn Hazm drew the following inferences:

> The interdiction to bathe applied only to the one who urinated; thus, anyone other than him may use that water to bathe.
>
> It applied only if one urinated into the water. He and anyone else might therefore use the water to bathe if the urine reached the water indirectly, for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

example after falling on high or nearby ground first, or being poured in it from a container.

It applied only if one urinated in it, not defecated in it.

It would be difficult to imagine a more ridiculous expression of fundamentalist rigidity. Historian Bernard Lewis points out another unattractive aspect of Ibn Hazm: He composed a violent pamphlet against Judaism. Lewis comments that it is "the only known book of its kind"—i.e., a Muslim polemic of the classic era against Judaism as a faith. (This anti-Jewish screed seems to have been motivated chiefly by its author's animus against his Hebrew competitors in poetry.) Ibn Hazm was also a ferocious bigot against Shi'a Muslims; his theology is akin to the ravings of bin Laden—whose followers look to him for guidance.

But Menocal is right in her assessment of Ibn Hazm's masterpiece of aesthetic philosophy. *The Ring-Neck of the Dove* shows that he truly understood the ordeal of human passion. His ultimate principle is that of the lover's utter subordination—and even prostration—before the beloved, whose social status is irrelevant. One may love a slave or an aristocrat with equal intensity.

Ibn Hazm brought together within himself, in discord rather than unity, conflicting aspects of the Muslim outlook: the two faces of Islam. Sorting out its dichotomies—between intellectual achievements and extremist outbursts, between separatism and pluralism—is the challenge that faces all who seek to understand Islam in our time. Throughout the course of Islamic history, the extraordinary power of Muslim monotheism has driven some to fanatical excess, yet its compassionate essence has moderated such tendencies. The Wahhabi extremism on display in Saudi Arabia could never survive among the "Andalusian" Muslims of Morocco, the Sufis of Uzbekistan, or Malaysian traditionalists. Muslims today must find their own way forward, but they should do so in the context of a global society based on religious coexistence. Jews and Christians can play a role in this quest, as they did in Spain half a millennium ago. This book details how such exchanges took place in the past, and does so in an engaging and accessible manner; it is a valuable contribution. **NR**

Theater of Blood

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

The Road to Verdun: World War I's Most Momentous Battle and the Folly of Nationalism, by Ian Ousby (Doubleday, 400 pp., $30)

VERDUN is one among other rather inconspicuous towns in the hilly French countryside between the rivers of the Meuse and the Rhine. The place has entered history as the site of one of the most atrocious of the many set-piece battles of the First World War. In the course of the 1916 fighting at Verdun, according to accepted figures, the French suffered 378,777 casualties, of whom 162,430 were killed or missing; the German dead or missing were comparable, about 143,000 out of 330,000 casualties. That same year, the battle of the Somme in northern France in fact claimed more victims, but the year-long slaughtering at Verdun has served to symbolize the struggle between France and Germany in the way that the battle of Stalingrad in World War II symbolized the struggle between Germany and Soviet Russia.

At Verdun, as also at Stalingrad, the fighting covered a terrain of a few miles at most, and of no real military significance. In dispute were several forts and lesser fortifications. German strategists had the obvious possibility of bypassing these prepared French positions, while French strategists could equally well have fallen back to a stronger defensive line. Possession of Verdun and the surrounding hills and woods could have no bearing on the final outcome of the war. Yet both sides were inflexible, opting for the tactics of concentrated artillery barrages followed by bayonet charges, or what the unfortunate men at the front referred to as butchering, meat-grinding, a version of Dante's Inferno.

Ian Ousby was a historian who died shortly after completing the manuscript of this book. The relationship between France and Germany was his special concern, and he was exceptionally well read in French sources—which is the strength of this excellent and absorbing book. Among Frenchmen who served at Verdun were the young Charles de Gaulle; the writers Georges Duhamel, Jean Giono, Pierre Drieu La Rochelle, and Pierre Mac Orlan; the historian Louis Madelin; and many other gifted observers. (John Dos Passos arrived late in the day as a stretcher-bearer.) Drawing upon vivid memoirs and diaries and fictional accounts from these and many other witnesses, Ousby has evoked the frontline in all its horrific detail. He revives from the historical record a number of heroes. One in particular was Colonel Emile Driant, a parliamentary deputy who warned that France was ill prepared for the coming ordeal, but then found himself facing the brunt of the opening German attack, whereupon he was killed. Soon the once bucolic landscape was transformed. Corpses came to seem matter-of-fact. One French captain described how the earth itself became slippery with human flesh. Patriotism motivated the soldiers, as Ousby makes clear, which accounts for the immense pathos of their self-sacrifice.

■

How were the French able to delude themselves that this bloodletting was heroism?

■

In February 1916 Marshal Pétain was given command. He instituted a conveyor-belt system of rotating units up to the front for short stints. Unimaginative and stolid as he was, and relieved of his command before the German campaign faltered to a close at the end of 1916, he nonetheless acquired a reputation as "the victor of Verdun."

How were the French able to delude themselves into the belief that Verdun had to be held at all costs, and that bloodletting on this appalling scale was heroism rather than idiocy? In a lengthy section at the heart of his book, Ousby skillfully illuminates the interplay of ideas and politics that decided the fate of the nation. Hitherto having fought only colonial wars, the generals had no conception of the changes technology

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had brought to modern warfare. They held that "élan"—the foolish doctrine, propounded by Henri Bergson, that spirit counted for more than matter—would be decisive. They had only to attack.

The French are widely stereotyped as people in the grip of Cartesian logic, but Ousby has no trouble showing how from the mid-19th century onwards emotion had swamped reason in France. French politicians and intellectuals alike saw themselves engaged with Germany in a Darwinian struggle for survival. In the disastrous war of 1870, France had lost the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. This was the direct consequence of the fatuous political and military pretensions of the Emperor Napoleon III. Only a few French intellectuals, such as the great historian Hippolyte Taine, accepted that the French were responsible for their own misfortune.

The opinion-making elite in general took its lead from another great historian, Jules Michelet—a liberal who romanticized France as the source of enlightenment, grace, and culture, as opposed to Prussian Germany, depicted as the home of efficiency, militarism, and inhumanity. The fantasy took shape of a feminine France facing an ugly German rapist. Real German wartime barbarities vivified these deep-seated fears. Ousby quotes many French intellectuals who promoted such false and destructive self-perceptions, and the worst of them in his view was Maurice Barrès, already one of Captain Dreyfus's chief persecutors. It was nationalism as molded by the likes of Barrès that exploited the soldiers' patriotism and converted Verdun into a cause with quasi-religious overtones. The road on which Pétain marched his troops up to the front became the *Voie Sacrée*, or Sacred Way. There could be no debate in such a context about military strategy, and no recourse to simple calculations of profit and loss. So the men were condemned to die.

German intellectuals, for instance the historian Heinrich von Treitschke, were no less nationalist than Barrès and his kind. German unification and victory in the war of 1870 had inspired self-confidence, and corresponding contempt for the French. Though not himself present at Verdun, the famous writer Ernst Jünger spoke for many Germans when he said that killing Frenchmen was what he had enjoyed about the First War. Verdun was the only front where the German general staff—apparently themselves infected by élan—encouraged mass assaults. Among young officers present was Heinz Guderian, later Hitler's favorite Panzer general. Pondering the Verdun experience, Guderian devised the blitzkrieg tactic that was to make his reputation. If Ousby's book has a weakness, it is that he does not examine the Germans and their motivation with the thoroughness he devotes to the French.

The myth that Verdun was a great national success—its sentimentalization and sacralization—prevented the French from examining the painful facts about themselves, their leadership, and their society. Ousby breaks off his narrative at this point, but every reader will be aware of the historical irony that only a few years later the French were not prepared to resist a very much more sinister and imperialist Germany. The costs of that failure were too high: Pétain, supposedly "the victor of Verdun," was the man who in 1940 proposed and then consummated the outright surrender of France to Germany—and this is a legacy that has not yet finished its malignant work in the European Union now taking shape. **NR**

■ BOOKS IN BRIEF ■

Temperament: The Idea That Solved Music's Greatest Riddle, by Stuart Isacoff (Knopf, 259 pp., $23)

WHAT do Pythagoras, Euclid, the 2nd-century B.C. Chinese thinker Huai Nan Tzu, Boethius, Giotto, Descartes, Shakespeare, Newton, Kepler, Rousseau, and contemporary composer Philip Glass have in common? Stuart Isacoff—pianist, composer, and founding editor of *Piano Today*—has woven them into a magnificent story about a great shift in the musical world that took place across centuries and engaged the attention of the Church, the academy, and every branch of the humanities. There are some things that seem so natural, so well established, that we cannot imagine them being any other way. Such is the case with temperament—the way pianos (and other keyboard instruments) are tuned and how music sounds to our ear. But in fact equal temperament, the commonsense method we now use that divides the musical scale into perfectly equidistant steps, was once a radical idea resisted for centuries by philosophers, popes, kings, and composers.

Temperament involves altering certain mathematical proportions between notes in the musical scale. The vociferous objection to such tampering stemmed from a belief that God, as the Divine Geometer, had established inviolable and harmonious proportions; it was not right for man to meddle with the order of the universe. The problem, however, was that the ancient ideals of proportion were *not* harmonious—in fact were downright cacophonous—when paired with new proportions, like thirds and sixths, that entered the musical palette as music became more complex.

Isacoff has taken a technical subject that even most musicians do not understand—they tend to leave tempering to the keyboard tuners—and told a thrilling story that is as accessible as it is absorbing. His imagination and skillful prose help him to explain technical musical concepts like fifths, thirds, and half-steps. Here is how he explains the difference in sound between a third and a fifth: "The sound of this harmony [the third] is sweet and liquid; not airy like a fifth (*do* to *sol*), but more condensed, tantalizingly palpable. If the open harmony of a fifth symbolically bridges the dust of the earth and the ceiling of heaven, the sound of a third fills that chasm with something warm and delicious: in a way, the song of the human heart." Isacoff uses felicitous analogies to explain musical concepts, as when he likens the problem that led to tempering to two carpenters trying to make bookshelves flush: Because they use two different scales of measurement—one based on multiples of two, like octaves, and the other based on multiples of three, like fifths—their shelves will never line up.

Temperament is chock-full of historical anecdotes and quirky details about the lofty personages who figure in this story. This is a whirlwind tour through the history of Western culture, told with flair and grace.

—SARAH MASERATI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

■ CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS ■

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

WORK FROM HOME. Health & Nutrition. $1,500–$8,000 Part-time/Full-time. For more information call: 888-211-3394.

EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

BIBLICAL JOURNALISM. Christian, are you interested in being a journalist? The World Journalism Institute has a number of journalism credit courses scheduled throughout the year in New York City, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, California, and Asheville, North Carolina. Check us out at www.worldji.com. We may be Right for you.

FRIENDSHIP, ETC.

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS, linked nationally since 1970. P. O. Box 117, Gradyville, Pa. 19039. 610-358-5049 or www.singlebooklovers.com

HOTELS

"Rated One of New York City 'Best Value' Hotels." ... *Zagats*

New York's all suite hotel is located in the heart of the city, near corporations, theatre & great restaurants. Affordable elegance with all the amenities of home.

MURRAY HILL EAST SUITES
149 E. 39th St. (Bet 3rd & Lex) New York, NY 10016
Reservations 1-800-248-9999
Ask about our special National Review rates.

LITERARY

UNRAVEL A MYSTERY! Armchair Detectives call for free catalogue of vintage to 70s mystery books. E-mail Cloak & Dagger: siralewker@aol.com or phone 845-371-6739.

PUBLISH YOUR IDEAS. Gregory C. Benoit Publishing will help, from start to finish. www.gregwa.com

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK. Ivy House Publishing Group. All subjects considered. 800-948-2786, or:
publisher@ivyhousebooks.com

ORGANIZATIONS

AMERICAN PLURALISM SOCIETY. Developing traditional cultures within a multicultural society. P. O. Box 32813, Palm Beach Gardens, Fla. 33420.
www.americanpluralismsociety.org

PERSONAL

INTELLIGENT, EXUBERANT, LOYAL non-spender; widowed too soon; seeks good-humored gentleman, 45–65. NR Box 2449.

RELIGION

TRADITIONAL ANGLICAN WORSHIP, CATHOLIC FAITH, EVANGELICAL PREACHING. Call the Anglican Catholic Church Information Center. 800-506-7616. www.anglicancatholic.org

SITUATIONS AVAILABLE

IMMEDIATE OPENING
Parish School Principal

Principal needed for PreK-4 through 8th grades in NW San Antonio, Texas. Competitive salary with benefits. Master's Degree + administrative hours. Traditional, solid, practicing Catholic. FAX educational qualifications to:
210-695-9679
or mail to:
Principal Search Committee, The Atonement Academy, 15415 Red Robin Road,
San Antonio, TX 78255.
www.AtonementOnline.com

SITUATIONS WANTED

SPEECH WRITER AND WORDWRIGHT, Ph.D., professor of communications with journalism background, seeks projects with and for fellow conservatives. NR Box 2450.

YOUNG MBA seeking new career path in St. Louis. ersstl@eudoramail.com

VACATION RENTALS

DURANGO, COLORADO. 4-bedroom luxury home. Call Christine: 907-247-8288. E-mail: Durangovacationrental.com

WEBSITES

DEFEND YOUR CHILDREN against government-endorsed brainwashing. www.hemet411.com/afha

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $4.50 per word (10-word min). Phone number, zip code, all permitted abbreviations (P.O.Box, S.A.S.E., etc.) count as one word.

Contact: Tony Savage, NATIONAL REVIEW, 215 Lexington Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016. Fax: 212-696-0340. Tel. 212-679-7330.

THE OFFICIAL *NR* CAP

Official Headgear of America's World Champions.
Stitched Logo.
One Size Fits All.
Navy Blue/Off-White.
$17.95 Each.
Extra Caps $11.00

One cap $17.95. Extra caps $11 each.
Special offer: No shipping/handling charge.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Number of caps: _____

PAYMENT METHOD
❑ Check enclosed (make payable to "National Review")
Bill to: ❑ MasterCard ❑ Visa
Acct. No. _____
Expir. Date _____
Signature _____
* Total payment $ _____
* NY State residents include sales tax.

Mail to: National Review, 215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Conservative Future For Pataki

NEW YORK, MAY 17

THE Conservative Party of the State of New York put on a 40th birthday celebration on Thursday that was a happy affair, complete with a freshly published history of the party by George Marlin—*Fighting the Good Fight*—but there were strains in the middle-aged lady of material political consequence. They had to do not only with the future of the party but also with the future of George Pataki, who is governor of New York thanks to the crossover vote provided by the Conservatives in 1994.

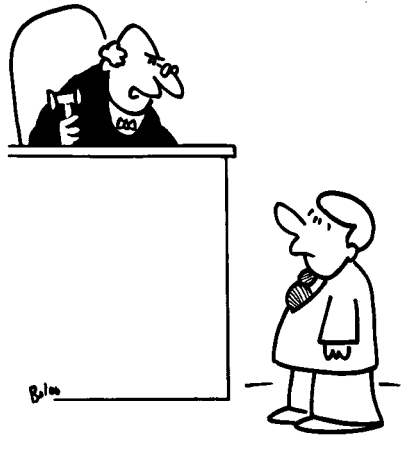
Vice President Dick Cheney was there, nicely introduced by his illustrious wife, Lynne. The program rollicked along, with no less than 36 honorees seated on the twin-decked dais, including fallen senators Alfonse D'Amato and James Buckley. George Pataki was the third speaker. In between, as second speaker, was the other Buckley, occupant of this space and Conservative candidate for mayor of New York in 1965.

The underlying question at the party was whether the leadership, under the amiable dirigiste hand of Michael Long, its chairman, had taken too many ideological shortcuts in agreeing to nominate Pataki for a third term notwithstanding Pataki's courtship of liberal support. State debt has soared under Governor Pataki, he has courted organized labor with extreme largesse, and on social issues he has been obsequiously accommodating. Buckley quoted the editorial in NATIONAL REVIEW that wonders "whether the only abortion law Governor Pataki would oppose would be one that threatened the rights of gays and lesbians."

There had been some talk of a challenge to Mr. Pataki by an enrolled Conservative, but the apparent challenger faded away before the dinner. The party heard then from Thomas Golisano, petitioning for a fight for the nomination. Golisano is a wealthy entrepreneur from Rochester who ran for governor twice before on the Independent line, a legacy of Ross Perot. He spent $10 million in 1998 and nosed out the Conservative line, occupying Row C. But Golisano has not come across as a conservative of the kind pictured in the pastiche of 1962 newspaper stories distributed at the banquet. The *New York Daily News* editorial at that time had quoted with manifest approval a sentence from the party's founders: "The Rockefeller-Javits elements must be made to realize that so long as they abandon Republican principles in pursuit of liberal backing, they will be denied the support of the conservative Republicans who constitute the backbone of the party." The question arises, on the 40th birthday, whether the Conservative Party, pursuing establishment orthodoxy notwithstanding the firebrand fidelity of Chairman Long, is losing its grip on conservatives, who are being asked to settle for a Governor Pataki 40 years after they balked at settling for a Governor Rockefeller.

Meanwhile, George Pataki is running strong. Speaking without notes he delivered thunderous approval of his record, stressing such music for the ear of his audience as hugely reduced welfare rolls, reduction in crime, and a forthcoming billion-dollar tax reduction. The conversational undertow at the big party was to the effect that if the first speaker of the evening calls it quits in 2004 after four years, then at the next Conservative Party banquet, the third speaker would take his place, and we would all listen to Vice President George Pataki.

Meanwhile, George has other dragons to slay. He confided to the second speaker that next week he would appear at Commencement at Yale University, where he intended to propound the thesis that liberal intellectuals are intolerant and exercise their own rigid orthodoxy. The second speaker nodded his head in agreement, and commented that 50 years ago he had written a book about Yale making exactly that point.



"Yes, I would mind if you changed the subject."

Watch the Red-Haired Man

NEW YORK, MAY 21

TWO comments were made on the mad concern to blame September 11 on the Bush administration that are deft, and pointed. Writing in the *New York Times*, Tom Friedman pointed out that the United States is culturally innocent and for that reason unlikely to imagine huge offensive operations against civilian targets. When we go on the offensive, we are capable of coming up with the Hiroshima bomb. But when we're just sitting around, more or less asleep, with history cuddling in our lap, we find it very difficult to transform e-mail squiggles and erratic student pilot-training into the suicidal armada of September 11. Also in the *Times*, William Safire made the point that Mr. Mineta, who is secretary of transportation, has got to get over his see-no-evil approach to racial profiling if we are going to make practical headway.

Now we have Mr. Mueller of the FBI who uses extraordinary language. Another terrorist attack, this on the style of the anti-Israeli attacks, is "inevitable." He was apparently dismayed that the inevitable sentence got out, but it was inevitable that it should have done so. And he is almost certainly correct. Boston University's Angelo Codevilla, writing in the *Claremont Review* last fall on the subject of homeland security, pronounced any programs we were likely to come up with as "impotent, counterproductive, and silly." The reason for it is that there are too many nubile targets in America to guard against random terrorism. If the enemy had an interest only in Fort Knox, we could reasonably hope to maintain that one sanctuary, but we're talking about baseball stadiums.

There are three levels of conceptual

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

assault against us. Another middle-level operation—another September 11—is improbable, because mounting that operation required extraordinary coordination, secrecy, and surprise. Japan could not be expected to bring off two Pearl Harbors. At a higher level, the ultimate aggressor will try to come at us with an ABC weapon—atomic, biological, chemical. That is not inevitable, but it is conceivable. At the other end of the scale, there is the pinprick. A suicide bomber at a Netanya hotel can denominate itself the Passover Massacre, because the effect of it was exactly that, of a massacre. Twenty-nine people were killed. At the battle of Gettysburg, over 6,000 were killed.

Why is homeland security impossible? Because, said Mr. Codevilla, an attempt to protect all assemblies of Americans would not succeed but would set into motion restrictions on the American way of life that are themselves an objective of the enemy. It does not do, as pointed out here when the Codevilla analysis was examined, "to discountenance the threat of being killed by committing suicide."

What is indeed inevitable is that the American people aren't going to take measures analogous to the British blackouts during the war. A proposal was made to the Clinton administration: Airport security should be augmented by a) demanding a photographic ID of passengers; b) inspecting hand baggage; c) x-raying checked baggage. The Clinton people turned that suggestion down as presumably hysterical. Now, of course, it is deemed insufficient, and the Bush administration is being faulted for failure to go further.

The single practical recommendation would be racial profiling. The one genetic contribution to counterintelligence in this theater is that Mid-easterners are visually identifiable. Since it is they who have engaged in every identified act of Islam-related terrorism, checking their movements at airports is a progressive step toward a level of security not manageable by any intensification of body and luggage examinations. If we knew that anyone disposed to terrorist activity would be red-haired, we'd find it reasonable to keep our eyes open for red-haired men at airports.

This could be done without repealing the Bill of Rights, and those Americans who have wondered when the dithering by the White House would end and sensible policy recommendations made, await—impatiently—the day that this point is made.

Smoke Get In Your Eyes?

NEW YORK, MAY 24

HAVE the long fingernails of the state's smoking laws scratched up your life? There are two federal laws that authorize interventions to prohibit people from smoking. At their arrant worst, in Colorado, you are (theoretically) not allowed to smoke at a campsite. Neither, as a matter of fact, are you allowed to build a fire at a campsite, this last perhaps understandable, inasmuch as campfires can cause forest fires.

But the law seems to know no limit to the ambition to blow smoke away from the face of the land. In New York, a 13-year-old sued, complaining that his visitations with his mother were painful and dangerous because dear old Mom lit up, both in the car riding with the brat, and in the quarters they shared during the visit. We do not know who put the child up to bringing the complaint—it sounds rather like the American Civil Liberties Union bribing somebody to object to the sight of the Ten Commandments when bicycling in the park. Question: Would the ACLU be on the side of limiting the exposure of the innocent party to smoke? Or on the side of the freedom of the addict to light up?

We asked a veteran legal philosopher to touch down on the question, Is smoking a civil right? His answer (he is given to laconic and derisory talk and is himself a smoker): "That's easy. Your civil right nowadays is for others not to smoke."

Mixed up with the question, Do you have a right to smoke? is another, which is, Do we want a nation of whistle blowers?

Last week a gentleman came in to where I work. He said that "somebody" had complained about smoke, and he was there on a "random inspection."

There are 50 people in the office, here and there, and he traced tobacco to five. Traced is hardly the word to use, since when he came in, no one knew what the gentleman wanted, and the receptionist, affable and relentlessly helpful, might well have asked him what she could do for him while blowing her cigarette smoke out in his general direction.

BANG!—down came the gavel. This time he would not fine us. But we were now on his hit list, and we would have no warning when next he showed up, perhaps with a Great Dane trained to sniff out the hidden cigarette butt. He would then fine both the corporation and the individual.

Had somebody in the office complained?

We don't think so, because we're all good buddies here. Probably it was someone delivering a ham sandwich who, noticing one of our five miscreants taking a puff, called the enforcers. If you tell on somebody who is hiding income from the IRS, and the IRS moves in and successfully prosecutes, the informer is (we are told) slipped a little change. Maybe it is so in the tobacco-detection game, though the practice may differ from city to city, state to state.

And there is no denying that nonsmokers also have rights, as anyone would acknowledge who has been caught to leeward of a smoker sitting immediately to one side.

Yes, there are definitely two sides to the question, and they are in severe contention right now in the Province of Nova Scotia, a domestic quarrel especially sad since Nova Scotians, with the possible exception only of New Zealanders, are the nicest human beings on earth. But they are torn up about a new law that is suggesting that smoke should not be permitted in bars and restaurants until 9 P.M., after which it's Caveat eater/drinker.

Mr. David Rodenhiser of the *Halifax Daily News* thinks the anti-smoking law (his language) the equivalent of "horny teenage boys" averring that they will "only put it halfway in." He makes the case against permitting *any* smoke in *any* public space: "There is no known safe level of exposure to second-hand smoke. Each year, 1,650 Nova Scotians die from smoking-related illnesses, including 200 who die from second-hand smoke. Second-hand smoke causes more disability, disease and death among employees than any other single hazard in the workplace. Restaurant workers have a 50 per cent higher risk of lung cancer than the general population. The government spends $170 million a year treating smoking-related diseases, and expects to collect $138.5 million in tobacco taxes in 2002–03."

Does that wrap it up?

Well no, not really.

Why couldn't we forbid smoking in the office—except in one room? Vicki's room, say. She'd hardly object, since she is a smoker.

But the law doesn't make way for compromises, or adjustments, or extenuations. The law is a ass, a idiot, someone, overheard by Charles Dickens, said 150 years ago, and nothing has changed.

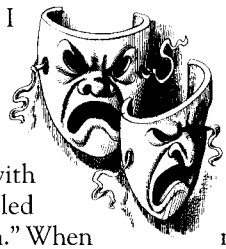
—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FLORENCE KING

"KILLING two birds with one stone" has been the guiding principle of the well-organized person from time immemorial, but, as with so much else dating from time immemorial, it is now more or less unconstitutional.

Merely using the expression can get you in big trouble with People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals, but I'll have to take the chance. I'm pruning my Idea Files, but meanwhile I have a column due, so I decided to kill two birds with one stone and write about what I find so I can throw it out.



When ordinary people make notes on ragged scraps of paper or clip newspaper articles and decorate them with necklaces of frantically scrawled marginalia, it's called "paranoia." When writers do it, it's called "research" and it's tax-deductible. These advantages lend an air of sanity but it's bogus. Idea Files are crazymaking by definition because a writer must constantly ask himself where something "goes." Paranoid amateurs don't have to make bricks out of their straw collection, but we do, so we keep re-filing some tattered clip in the hope that it will "go" with other tattered clips and be enough for a column.

Take, for example, the Dec. 26, 1997, clip from the *Washington Times* headlined "Geneticist Says Lesbianism is Cultural, 'Not Inherited,'" about the further findings of geneticist Dean Hamer, proponent of the theory that male homosexuality is inborn. Reluctant to get tangled up in a column that would expose my scientific ignorance, I moved this one from Gay to Women to Feminists to Men and back to Gay again without ever figuring out a way to write about it, adding new marginalia each time I re-filed it. The resulting necklace of notes reads:

"Flash from NR: Men are cradle gays, lesbians are converts. . . . Scientific chivalry lets lesbians off the homophobic hook. . . . At last the Breeding-Heart Right will have to blame something on the environment. . . . Why there is no lesbian equivalent of the female impersonator: Because there's nothing to do. If you want to impersonate a man, all you have to do is sit still, stick to the subject, and say things once instead of three times. This lacks entertainment value."

Sometimes a new clip will segue flawlessly with a quotation from a book that I copied out years earlier. It's still not enough for a column, but the satisfaction is so great that I can almost hear a click as the two snap together in my mind.

This happened with a colloquy by Bonnie Erbe and Josette Shiner in the Oct. 31, 1999, *Washington Times*. Erbe, the liberal half of the team, deplored the behavior of Bob Dole during his wife's campaign for the GOP presidential nomination, claiming it was "purposefully designed" to sink her. Erbe cites his Viagra pitches on national TV while Liddy was trying to be sweet 'n' nice on the hustings, his public statement that Bush's lead was "insurmountable," and, most damaging of all, his announcement that he was thinking of contributing to one of her rivals (John McCain).

Shiner's response was a study in nervous evasion and denial, but novelist Katherine Anne Porter, who was just as conservative, nailed her flag to the mast: "I know that when a woman loves a man, she builds him up and supports him. I never knew a man who loved a woman enough for this. He cannot help it, it is his deepest instinct to destroy, quite often subtly, insidiously, but constantly and endlessly, her very center of being, her confidence in herself as a woman."

I copied out this quotation on the back of a rent receipt for $125, so you know how long I've had it. Now I've finally used it!

Sometimes writers clip articles we know we won't use because we have developed an itchy scissors finger and can't help ourselves. I long ago stopped writing about political correctness; the topic had been done to death and there was nothing more to say, but I went on clipping P.C., like the gem from the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* that said Wisconsin was renaming Squaw Bay because "some" Native Americans find the word offensive; it doesn't just mean woman or wife, but is "a French corruption of an Indian epithet for vagina." What? The gentle, peaceful, ecological, communal, sharing, cooperating, egalitarian Indians used hate speech? How can this be? The article doesn't say.

An Ideas File is a useful weapon for discouraging the kind of people who drop in unannounced. Just leave a note to yourself lying around and you'll never see them again. Crime novelists who deal in unequivocal plots usually get rid of them fast—*Set fire to house on Christmas Eve*—but cultural commentators who interpret the American scene have the added fun of inflicting slow mental torture with notes couched in the cryptic language of free association.

When an idea for a column pops into my head I have to get the gist of it down fast or it's gone forever, so I grab a pen and scratch paper and scrawl *Herc foot, dogcatcher, undertaker*. How'd you like to be sitting here and find that on the coffee table, hmm?

It's my take on American foreign policy. The classical principle *Ex Pede Herculem*—"From the foot alone we may infer Hercules"—gives common sense a much-needed boost by permitting us to infer that if an individual is *this*, chances are he's *that*. Since Arabs and Europeans are eager to infer things about us, we should discard our dread of stereotyping and employ inference to find the kind of people who can handle troublesome foreigners.

A dogcatcher is unlikely to obsess over "Why do they hate us?" He knows why. He's used to it. He's the man everybody hates, the man who enrages "the street" every day merely by driving down it in his truck, unfazed by the tears, ululating shrieks, and muttered threats he leaves in his wake. Send him to the Middle East at once.

An undertaker is used to ridicule and bad jokes at his expense. He expects people to give him the cold shoulder, peer at him with suspicion, shrink from him in disgust, and, at the very least, to put up with him with as bad a grace as possible. Make him ambassador to France. **NR**

Miss King can be reached at P.O. Box 7113, Fredericksburg, Va. 22404.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH EMBASSY® DAMASK, YOU CAN TOSS YOUR OLD TABLE LINEN EXPECTATIONS OVERBOARD.

Greg Wysocki/Director, Purchasing,
Holland America Line & Windstar Cruises
Robert Hendrix/Executive Chef, Holland America Line, ms Amsterdam

When Holland America's passengers embark on the new flagship ms Amsterdam, they expect the ultimate vacation experience. Amsterdam's staff of 700 works hard to provide a luxurious atmosphere—from staterooms to entertainment to fine dining.

"We needed a table linen fabric with a look and feel that would complement the elegance of La Fontaine, our main dining room," explains Greg Wysocki, Holland America's Director, Purchasing. "And since we serve 6000 meals a day and wash our linens over 700 times a year, the linens also had to provide superior durability and color consistency."

According to Robert Hendrix, Amsterdam's Executive Chef, Embassy® Satin Band is the perfect match. "We have extremely fast turnover between seatings," he says, "and Embassy linens always come back soft and clean. With Embassy we never run short of linens, and we don't have to reorder as often as we used to with poly/cotton."

"Our cruise guests have high expectations," states Greg Wysocki. "And so do we. That's why we use Embassy Satin Band tablecloths and napkins." It's been smooth sailing ever since.

Embassy®
Damask by Milliken

The Definition of Elegance.

Visit our website at www.millikentablelinen.com
For more information call 1-800-255-8472.
International inquiries, please call 1-864-503-2897.

JD 00-NAP-217H

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smart Investing and Catholic Values

NOW YOU CAN HAVE BOTH

AVE MARIA CATHOLIC VALUES FUND

The Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund is an equity mutual fund designed specifically for morally responsible investors. The Fund's experienced investment managers select stocks based on sound investment fundamentals and pro-life Catholic values. The goal is long-term capital appreciation. Contact us today to learn more.

INVESTMENT PERFORMANCE FOR THE PERIOD ENDING 3/31/02	3 MONTHS	SINCE INCEPTION 5/1/01
Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund*	6.38%	12.00%
S&P 500 Index	0.28%	-8.23%

* A contingent deferred sales load of 1% is charged on redemptions of shares within one year of purchase. Assuming redemption of shares at the end of the periods indicated, investment performance would be 5.38% for 3 months and 11.00% since inception.

The investment performance above assumes reinvestment of dividends and capital gains distributions. Performance data reflects certain fee waivers and reimbursements. Without such waivers, performance would have been lower. The S&P 500 Index is a capitalization weighted unmanaged index of 500 widely traded stocks, created by Standard & Poor's. The index is considered to represent the performance of the stock market in general. Indexes do not incur fees and it is not possible to invest directly in an index.

Past performance is not a guarantee of future results. Investment return and principal value may fluctuate so that shares, when redeemed, may be worth more or less than their original cost. For more complete information about the Ave Maria Catholic Values Fund including charges and expenses and updated performance, please write or call Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc. for a free prospectus. Please read the prospectus carefully before you invest or send money. Schwartz Fund Distributors, Inc., 3707 W. Maple Road, Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301.

FINANCIAL ADVISORS: Please call 1-248-644-8500 for Fund kit and more information

Call Toll Free
1-866-AVE-MARIA
(1-866-283-6274)
or visit
www.avemariafund.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED